DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 284 408 EC 200 226

AUTHOR	Moore, Caroline, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Reaching Out: Proceedings from a Special Education Symposium on Cultural Differences and Parent Programs (Phoenix, Arizona, May 2-3, 1986).
INSTITUTION	Oregon Univ., Eugene. Coll. of Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	May 86
GRANT	OEC-300-83-0185
NOTE	112p.; Developed by the Western Regional Resource Center.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Alaska Natives; American Indians; Asian Americans; Blacks; *Cultural Differences; *Disabilities; Elementary Secondary Education; *Ethnic Groups; Hispanic Americans; Minority Groups; Pacific Americans; Parent Education; *Parent School Relationship

ABSTRACT

The document contains ten presentations (or summaries) given at a 1986 special education symposium on cultural differences and parent programs with emphasis on the Pacific states and territories of Alaska, American Samoa, Arizona, California, Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, Trust Territory, and Washington. Two introductory papers examined demographic changes (D. Zeller) and "cultural pluralism" versus the "melting pot" idea (L. Baca). Remaining papers focus on cultural differences and parent programs with the following cultural emphases and authors: Asian (C. Yano), Hispanic (G. Rodriguez-Eagar), Pacific--Guam (F. Limtiaco), Pacific--Samoa (T. Falealii), Native American--Southwest (T. Tafoya), Native American--Alaska (M. Ambrose), and Urban Black (P. Mullings-Franco). The presenter panel and discussion are summarized. A final summary lists 10 recommendations for reaching out to families of other cultures such as approaching each individual as an individual, knowing about the culture before approaching a family, viewing each culture as "good and working," and thinking in terms of cultural differences rather than cultural barriers. The four appendices include suggestions for replicating the symposium, a summary of the evaluation, a 37-item bibliography of multi-cultural resources, and a list of symposium participants. (DB)

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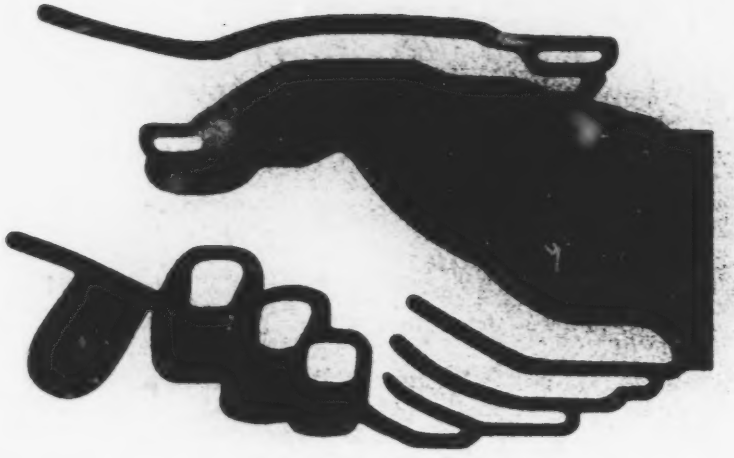

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REACHING OUT

Proceedings From

A Special Education Symposium

on Cultural Differences and Parent Programs

Phoenix, Arizona

May 2-3, 1986

Western Regional Resource Center

EC200226

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REACHING OUT

A Special Education Symposium
on Cultural Differences and Parent Programs

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INTRODUCTION

This document presents the content and format of Reaching Out: A Special Education Symposium on Cultural Differences and Parent Programs, sponsored by WestLink and the Western Regional Resource Center.

WestLink is a multistate network of parents and special educators formed to increase communication across state lines and to promote parent/professional partnerships, all on behalf of handicapped children. The symposium was the fifth meeting of the group. The following states and territories had representation: Alaska, American Samoa, Arizona, California, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, Trust Territory, and Washington. The Western Regional Resource Center (WRRC) co-sponsored and coordinated the event with the guidance of a WestLink planning committee.

It is a complex responsibility for the WestLink membership to represent and serve the diverse group of cultures and races within their region. The frustrations of attempting to reach families of other cultural groups and to bring them into training and support activities had become a recurring theme in informal discussions. The Executive Committee was concerned, too, about how to gain the interest and involvement of the Pacific Island groups within the WRRC region. The only Pacific representation WestLink had had so far was one of the founding states, Hawaii. As a result of this concern, the theme of cultural differences emerged for the 1986 Annual WestLink meeting.

A planning committee was formed and goals established:

* To increase understanding of the ethnic, cultural, racial make-up of the region;

* To expand awareness of what culture is;

* To provide information about broad cultural groups in the region on several topical areas (i.e., family structure, the place of the individual, child-rearing practices, social norms, and other social institutions).

A symposium format seemed the best for meeting these goals. The sections of this document parallel the sessions of the symposium.

In the first section, "The Western States: The Reality of Cultural Pluralism," are two presentations that set the stage for the panelists' presentations and for contributing to the discussions which followed.

The second section, "Cultural Differences and Parent Programs," includes a paper from each panelist, notes from the panel discussion, and a list of summary ideas drawn from the discussion.

The appendices include suggestions for replicating the symposium, a summary of the evaluation conducted, a bibliography, and lists of the planning committee members and the symposium participants.

The symposium was a unique and valuable experience for those who were present. The editors hope that in and between the lines of this document, some of the feelings and insights evoked for the participants will emerge for the reader as well.

Judy Grayson, Consultant
Caroline Moore, Conference Coordinator
Dick Zeller, WRRC Director

September 1986

Section I

THE WESTERN STATES:

THE REALITY OF CULTURAL PLURALISM

This section includes two papers designed to provide an update on the demographic make-up of the Western region of the United States and a revisitation of what the term "culture" means to both the majority and the minority cultures represented here.

"Demography: Real Numbers--Real Change" was presented by Dick Zeller, Director of the Western Regional Resource Center. Zeller formerly directed a consortium of Direction Service projects from three sites in the Northwest and in this capacity worked extensively with families of children with disabilities. He is currently working toward an advanced degree in Policy and Management. Through his comments and a series of graphics, Zeller characterized the region as one that is growing rapidly and steadily in its multiplicity of cultural groups. He portrayed, too, the percentage of handicapped students within these groups.

"Concepts: Is There a Melting Pot?" was presented by Leonard Baca, Professor of Special Education/Bilingual Education at the University of New Mexico. Baca was formerly the director of the BUENO Center for Multi-Cultural Education in Denver, Colorado. He has been an active leader in the field of multi-cultural education for over 10 years, published several books and numerous articles, served on national committees, and been the recipient of several awards for his work in the field. Baca was sought by symposium planners to develop a framework within which to listen to the various presentations that would follow. He also moderated the panel discussion.

REAL NUMBERS: REAL CHANGES

Dick Zeller

The demographic face of the United States is changing. Most of us know this much from the popular press. A century ago, the face of America was mostly of Western European origin, with some African features; a century from now it will look much more like the face of the world: 57% Asian, 26% White, 7% Black. Immigration increases have brought new groups of people with different languages and cultural backgrounds into our communities. Their numbers make new and different demands on social service agencies. That schools are impacted seems obvious; yet we are only just beginning to understand the magnitude of that impact. These changes are not uniform across all states; the West will be particularly affected.[1]

This is not the first time that changes in demography have reverberated in the schools. The swollen numbers of the post-WWII baby-boomers created severe stress on schools throughout the country. Enrollment growth in the 1950s and 1960s brought overcrowding in many districts: split-shifts, teacher shortages, and massive school building programs were the norm. The graduation of the last of the baby-boomers in the mid 1970s was followed by rapidly declining enrollments. Districts with fewer students fought to maintain programs, while also taking the politically difficult step of closing some neighborhood schools; new grade clusters were proposed--middle schools became one way to accommodate declining student enrollment without closing high schools. Teachers grew older on the average and their numbers fewer: Most college graduates opted for careers in fields more lucrative and less stressful than education.[2] In those communities where attrition couldn't reduce teaching forces quickly enough, RIFs ("reductions in force") became commonplace. Today, the average American teacher is 42 years old; about half of the currently 2.1 million working teachers will retire, die, or resign by 1992.[3] The situation shows little sign of improving. Even now, layoffs continue in the states hardest hit by the drop in oil prices.

If managing growth was more fun than managing decline, then school administrators can take heart. We are beginning to hear the echo of the baby-boom. In some parts of the country it promises to be a loud echo. The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) predicts that elementary school enrollment will increase by about 14% (or by about 3.8 million students) by 1992. The teacher shortage, estimated at roughly 4000 in 1983, will grow substantially: NCES estimates that between 1988 and 1992, 126 jobs will await every 100 graduates of teacher training programs.[4]

The magnitude of enrollment growth will be less, nationally, than that of the post-WWI baby boom; it also will be less evenly distributed across the regions of the U.S. While the national population will increase by only 12% between 1985 and 1995, the western states will experience 21% growth. The increase in school-age populations is even more dramatic. Education Week[5] projected the national increase in people 19 years of age and under from 1980 to 2000 at about 6%. The increases for the states in the WRRC region, however, are far greater than this:[6]

Alaska	41%
Arizona	73%
California	20%
Hawaii	11%
Idaho	59%
Nevada	103%
Oregon	41%
Washington	30%

These numbers promise significant stress for the school systems in this region. While some building facilities may be underutilized today, they soon will be inadequate; teacher shortages and the management of growth will take their toll.

The region is not simply growing in numbers, however. The racial, ethnic, and language composition of school populations also will change. Immigration, once a movement from east to west, has become a movement from south to north and from west to east. Where the immigrants of the early part of this century might have shared some commonalities of European culture, those of the present come from different cultural and linguistic heritages. But the new immigrants, like others before them, will enrich the cultural mix of the United States.

In what follows I present the demographics of these changes for the WRRC region and what relevance they might have for special education programs. I have used some text and many graphics to cover five main topics:

1) The current composition of the population of the western states of the WRRC region;

2) The impact of immigration on these populations;

3) Growth in the minority populations in schools (most of these data come from California, but are illustrative of the direction of these changes if not their magnitude in other states);

4) Minority disproportion in special education resulting from both broad racial and socioeconomic biases, and from assessment and educational practice; and

5) The connection between poverty, gender, minority group membership, and handicap or disability.

An apology from the author

I am not fond of labels, as a rule, except on jars. As I set about trying to make sense out of the data from the Census Bureau, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and a variety of other sources, however, I was struck with the difficulty of describing ethnic or racial groups in the population. Although that may seem straightforward, it is not. First, ethnicity and race are not the same thing, although they may be related. The Census Bureau uses self-identification by respondent to determine race. The race categories on the census include White, Black, American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, Asian and Pacific Islander, and Other. In addition to identifying race, respondents are asked whether they are of "Spanish Origin." This category includes people who trace their ancestry to Spain, to Mexico, or to the Spanish speaking countries in Central or South America, or who generally identify themselves as Spanish, Spanish American, Hispanic, Latino, etc. Census Bureau reports usually display information "by race and Spanish origin," although the race categories do not necessarily distinguish ethnicity, while Spanish Origin (at least in a broad sense) does. Second, the way people report their race and ethnicity changes over time--the categorization, then, is by no means a scientific one and may say more about how people view themselves than anything else. For example, the Census forms ask for race to be identified in one of several categories. In 1970, only 1% of Spanish origin persons selected the category "other" to signify race, while 93% selected "white." In the 1980 Census, 38% of Spanish-origin persons selected "other" for race, while only 58% selected "white." This substantial shift in reporting says more about changes in the identity of the people completing the Census forms than about changes in the racial distribution of Spanish-origin people.

In short, racial and ethnic distinctions are confounded in most available studies. In Census Reports, especially, and in other reports that try to describe immigrant and resident populations in the U.S., these labels often serve as statistical substitutes for broad cultural descriptors, in much the same way that special education labels serve as an imperfect shorthand to describe classes of children with some supposedly common educational needs. In this paper, I continue this unfortunate racial/ ethnic labeling practice. I use summary data that describes some members

of the population in terms of race and others in terms of language origin. I do not do this willingly, but because the available data set does this. Nevertheless, I hope the ideas here help the reader to appreciate both the challenge for schools that these changes represent and the promise of a richer and fuller culture they also promise for the United States in general, and the western states in particular.

Composition of the population of the western states

Of the national population of 240 million, about 50 million (21%) are Black, of Spanish origin, or Asian. By the year 2000, nearly one-third of Americans will be non-white.[7] In the western states, non-whites represent a larger proportion (about 24%) of the population. Nearly one-fourth of these are Asian, while almost two-thirds are of Spanish origin (see Figure 1). Blacks, American Indians and others represent about 15% of the western states' non-white population.

These summary numbers for the western region mask great diversity from state to state. The non-white proportion of the population in WRRC states ranges from a low of 6% in Idaho to a high of about 68% in Hawaii (see Figure 2).

California, currently about 28% non-white, will have a white minority population by 2010. Because of differences in fertility and immigration rates, however, the school age population of California will pass that benchmark much sooner, reaching 52% non-white by the turn of the century.

Comparable data is not available on racial and ethnic populations within the Pacific Island jurisdictions, but language characteristics serve as one indicator of their diversity. Figure 3 shows the numbers of individuals five years of age and older who live in English and non-English homes. Many of these homes may be bilingual, of course, but only on Guam (with the influence of the U.S. military population) is there a significant number (about 36%) of primarily English speaking homes.[8]

Immigration and its impact on regional population characteristics

The rate of legal immigration to the United States has increased fairly consistently since 1946. Despite reports to the contrary, I do not see a radical shift in the numbers of immigrants coming to this country. Figure 4 shows the number of immigrants per year from 1946 through 1983, using a logarithmic scale for the vertical axis. Consistent proportional increases over time on such a scale appear as a straight line. The trend

Figure 1

Racial/Ethnic Group Distributions
WRRC Region

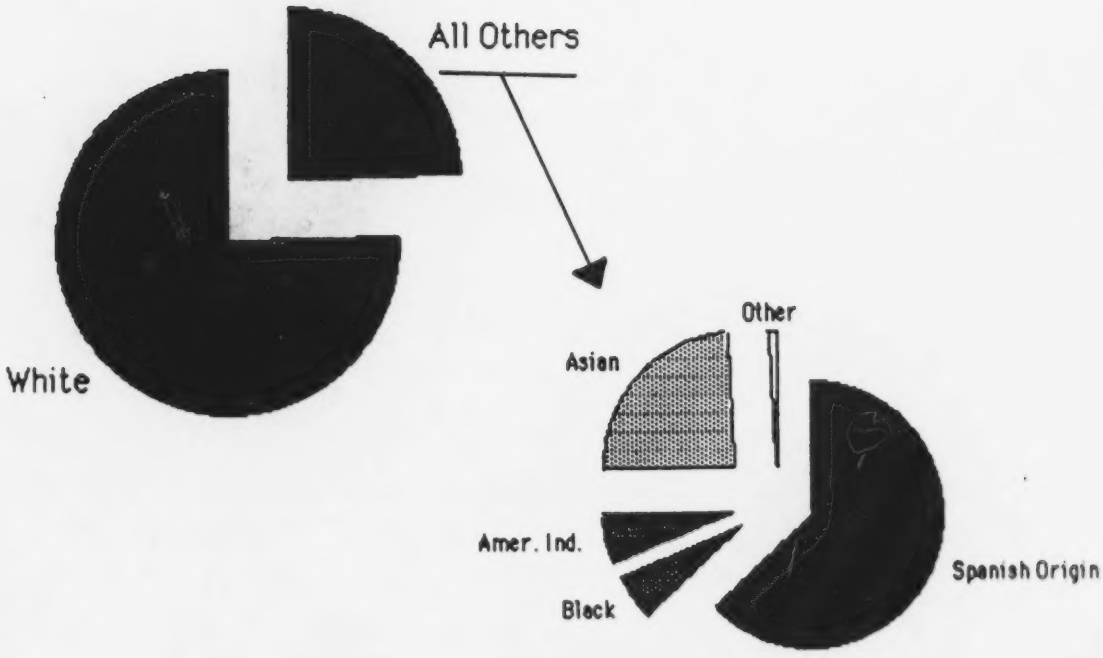
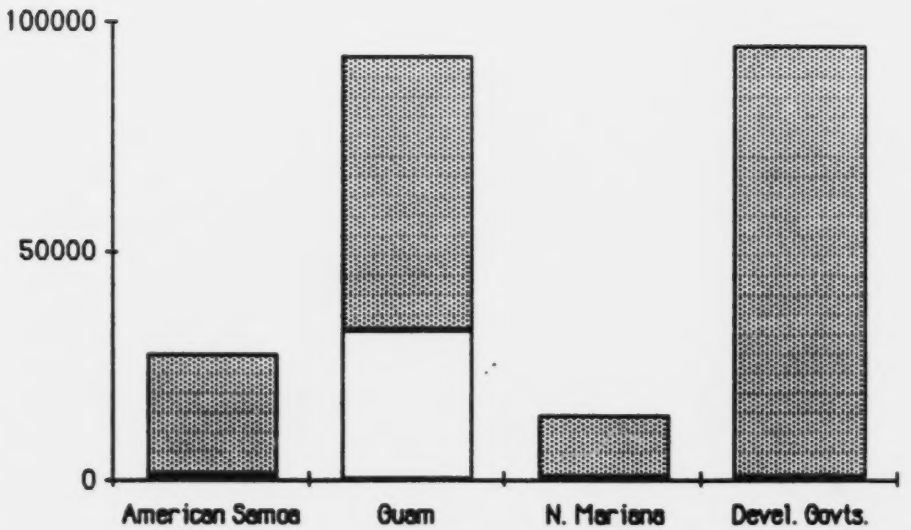


Figure 2

Racial/Ethnic Group Distributions by WRRC State

Figure 3

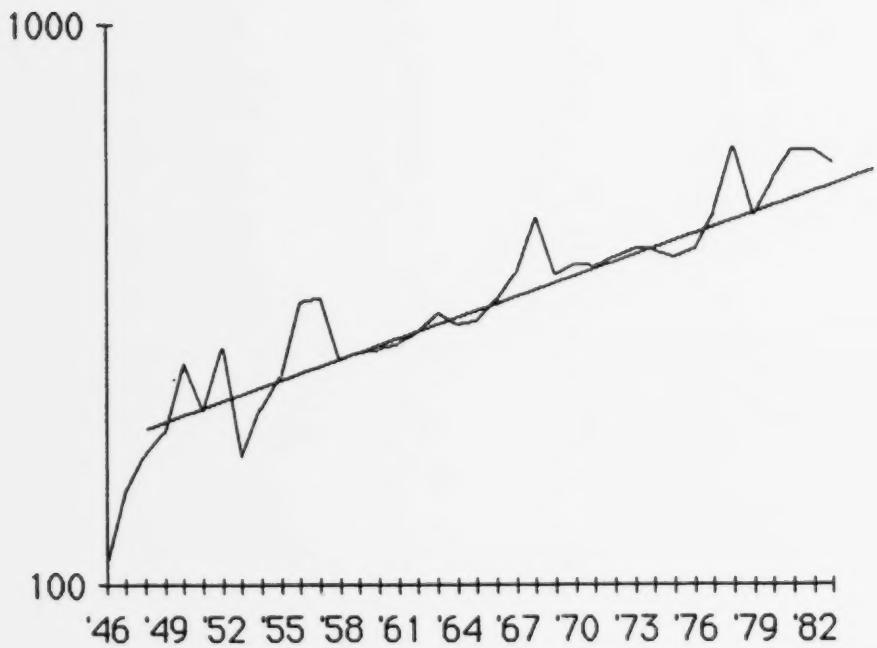
Persons 5 Years and Older in English and Non-English Speaking Homes



[Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, General Social and Ecomonic Characteristics, Trust Territory, 1980]

Figure 4

Immigration to the United States 1946–1983 (in 1000s)



line on this figure shows that the actual increase in immigrants has been fairly consistent. If we add the estimated 300 to 500 thousand illegal immigrants, the annual immigration rate begins to approach the levels of the period from 1900 to 1930. It is still not as high as those years of mostly European immigration, nor is the proportion of immigrants to the established population as large.

What is different is the composition of the immigrant populations. Whereas immigration from 1830 through 1950 tended to be overwhelmingly white and European, those coming to the United States in the last two decades are mostly non-white and non-European. Figure 5 displays immigration totals by decade from 1830 to 1980. Data points are total immigration per decade. Most immigrants during the decade 1971 through 1980 came from Asian countries, Mexico, Central America, and South America. Some of the alarm about the increasing rates of immigration seems to be tied to the racial and ethnic composition of the immigrant groups rather than simply to their numbers. Congress, for example, has considered legislation that would limit land border immigration (crossings from Mexico and Canada) to 100,000 per year for each border. Although it appears to be equal treatment for our neighbors, there never has been a decade in which a million immigrants crossed the United States' northern border. Recent levels have been closer to 17,000 annually from the North, whereas immigration from the south averaged about 181,000 annually (1971-1980).

Immigrants differ not only in their racial and ethnic composition, but also in age: they are younger and they tend to bring more children with them. In 1982, less than 20% of Americans were 19 years old or less. More than this number were over 65 years old. The aging of the U.S. population will continue through the next century. Those who immigrate, however, arrive with more children and have more children once here (see Figure 6).

About 30% of arriving immigrants are under twenty years of age. These children become the immediate charges of (public) school systems. Because of the conditions from which they come, many have health and learning difficulties in school, apart from the difficulty of adapting to a new dominant language and cultural environment.

In addition to bringing more children with them, immigrants also have more children after they arrive. Figure 7 shows fertility rates of racial and ethnic groups compared to the rate necessary for replacement. The middle line in this figure (0.0) represents a no-growth replacement birth rate. As is clear, only those of Hispanic origin have higher than replacement fertility rates. Hispanic foreign-born individuals (first generation immigrants)

Figure 5

Immigration by Region of Origin
1830 to 1980

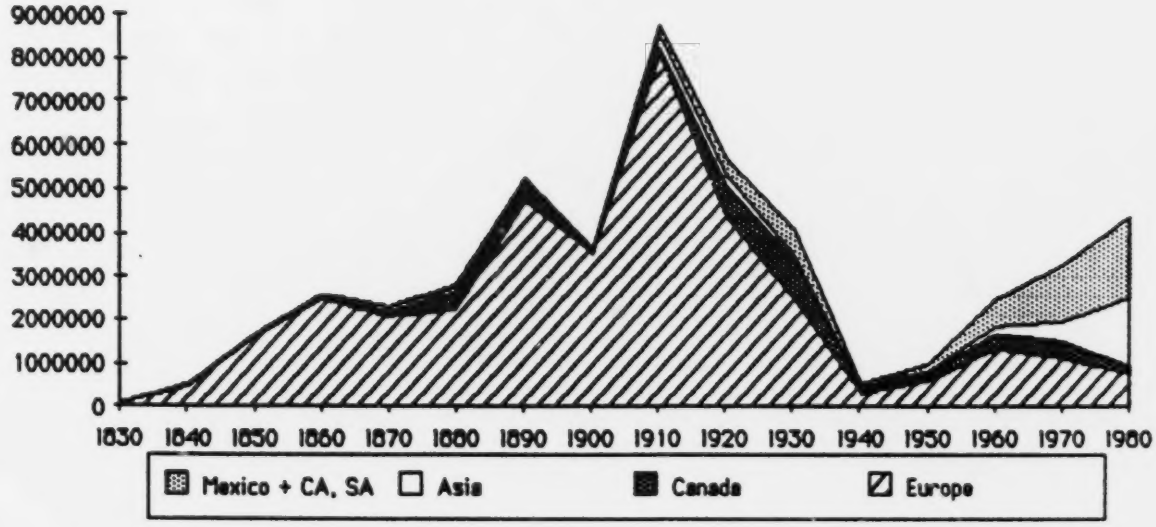
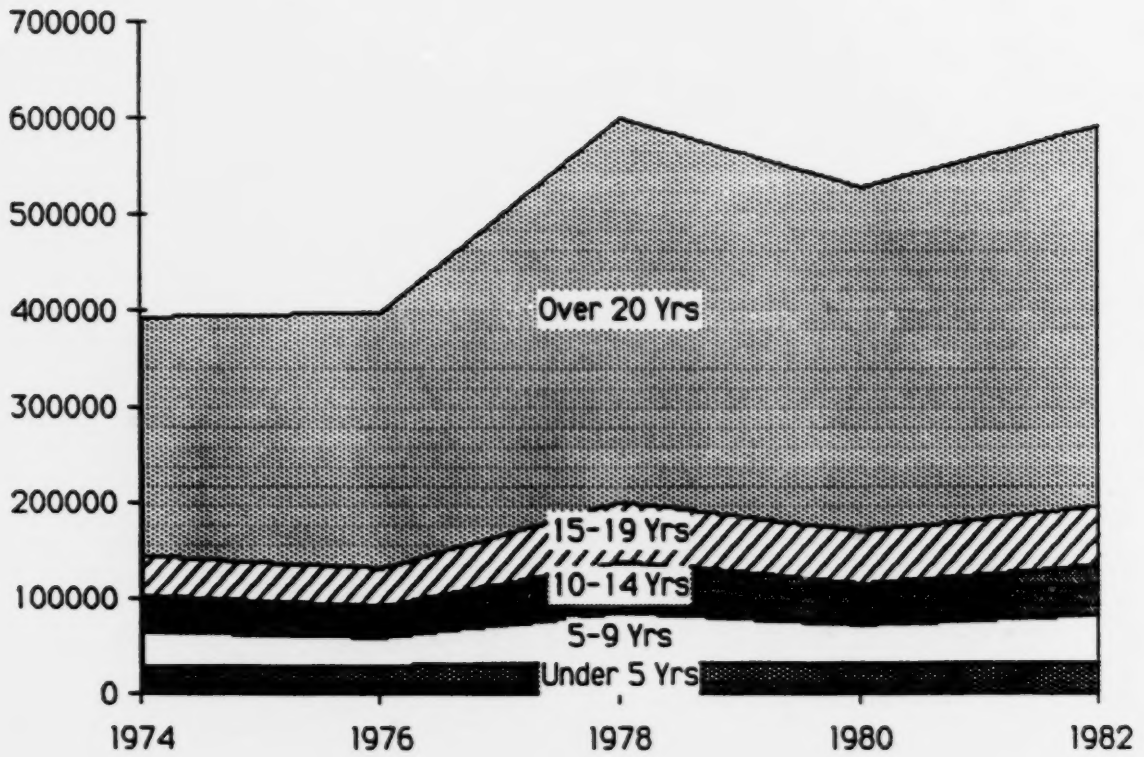


Figure 6

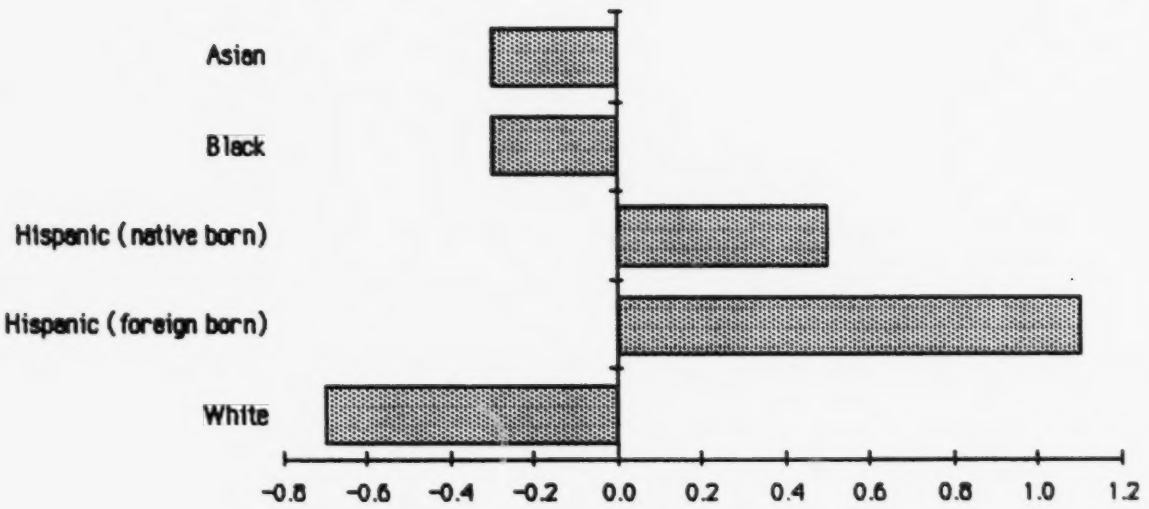
Immigrants by Age Group
1974 to 1982



Source: 1983 Stat. Yearbook, INS

Figure 7

Difference from Zero-Growth Fertility Rates by Ethnic Group (California)



[Source: CA Deepartment of Health Services and 1980 Census]

have the highest rates. Although these rates decrease with succeeding generations, they remain above replacement levels. These differences in birth rate, combined with the greater proportion of children in the immigrant populations to begin with, mean that school populations of the coming decade will be increasingly of Spanish origin.

Growth in the minority populations in schools

The Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy projected the growth in that state's Hispanic school population.[9] From 1970 to 1980, the Hispanic portion of the school population jumped from 28% to 42%. By the year 2000, the Center estimates that 52% of the California school population will be of Hispanic origin (see Figure 8). The collection of "minorities" will have become the majority in California. Although comparable projections are not readily available for other western states, it is likely that similar growth patterns are present. Certainly in Arizona, where there are already well established Hispanic populations, similar rates of growth can be expected.

Minority disproportion in special education

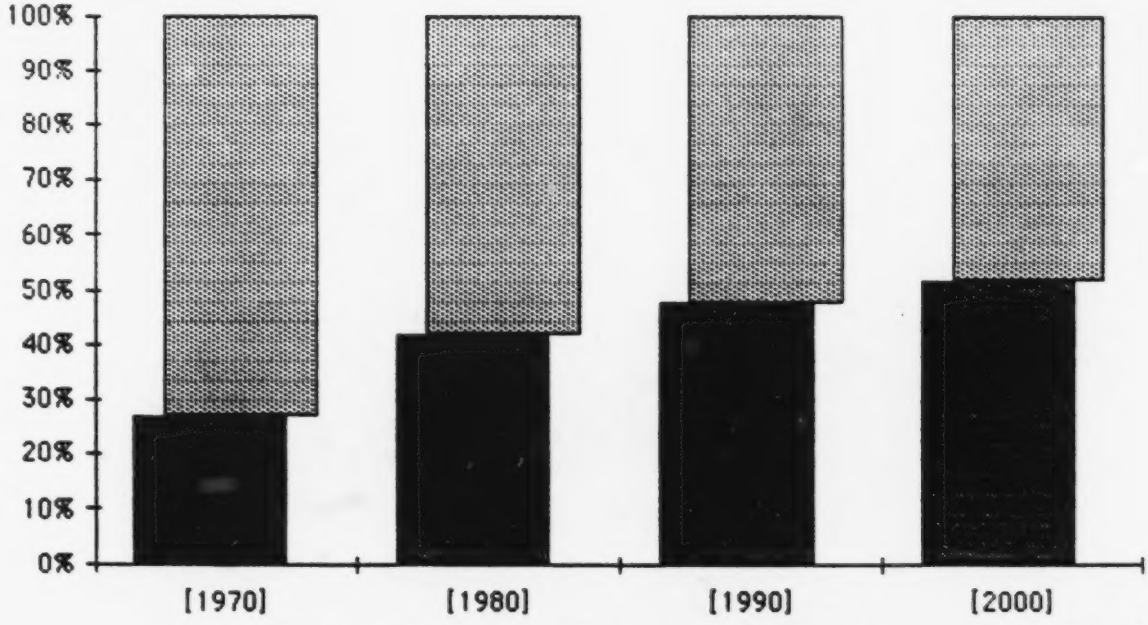
Minority students are slightly more likely than their white peers to be placed in special education.

Just under one-third of the students included in a 1984 Council for Exceptional Children (CEC) study[10] were members of minority groups (see Figure 9). For students placed in special education, slightly more than one third are members of minority groups. The disproportion is most pronounced, however, in the more stigmatizing labels. In general, the more stigmatizing the label, the more likely that certain minority group students will receive that label. For the 28 states in the CEC study, the EMR and TMR labels were most disproportionately assigned. One way to understand the degree of disproportion is to compare the likelihood of students of different races receiving a specific label: A minority student, for example, is 2.3 times more likely than a white student to receive the label "EMR."

A detailed look at the proportions of selected handicaps for major ethnic groups is shown in Figure 10. Black students are three times more likely than white students to be labeled EMR and almost 17 times more likely than Asian students to receive that label! Asian students on the whole are less than half as likely to receive any special education label (or services).

Figure 8

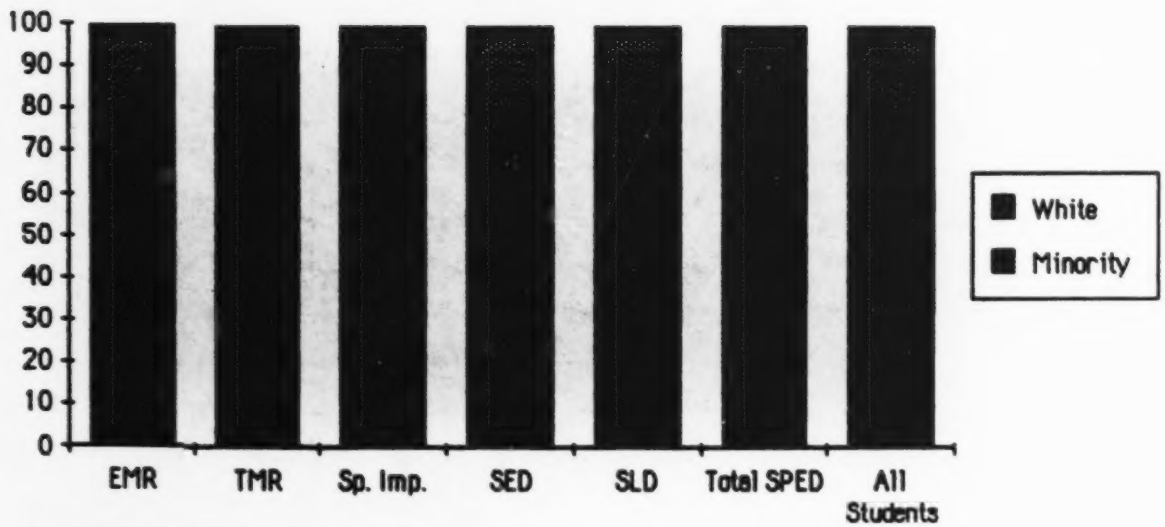
Growth of the Minority Component of California's School Age Population



Source: CA SEA - Center for Continuing Study of the CA Economy, "Projections of California's Hispanic Population, 1985-2000"

Figure 9

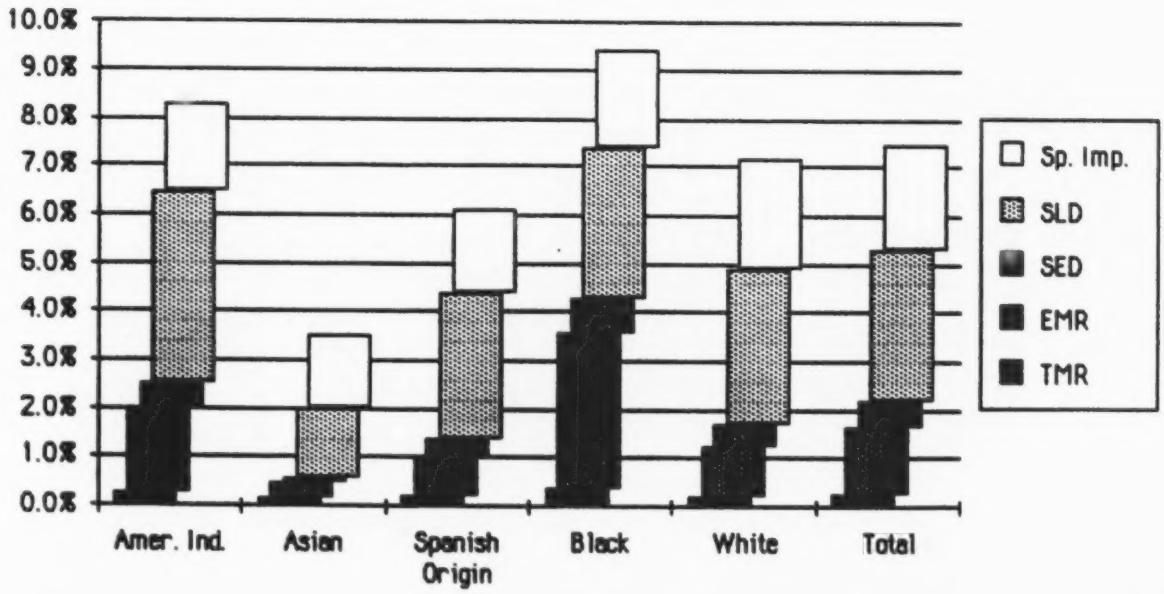
Proportion of Minority and White Students for Each Handicapping Condition



[Source: CEC/ERIC, 1984. Table 4, pp. 11-12]

Figure 10

Proportions of Selected Handicaps for Major Ethnic Groups



[Source: CEC/ERIC, 1984. Table 4, pp. 11-12]

The problem of disproportion results from racial and cultural bias, but it is not a simple bias that results from bad school tests or assessment procedures. First, there is a set of problems associated with the identification of mild handicaps:

- Neither school personnel nor "experts" agree on what mild handicaps are.[11]
- Teacher expectations play a dominant role in predicting student performance.[12]
- Teacher referral predicts placement better than the scores on various assessment instruments.[13]
- Special education placement as a general intervention has very weak effects.[14]

Second, race too often is mistaken as the best predictor of disability without an examination of why that should be so. Race predicts the label "handicapped," but low socio-economic status, limited early childhood experiences, trauma, poor nutrition, and inadequate pre- and postnatal care better predict the development of handicaps (Sarason and Doris, 1979).[15] Said another way, our society is racist in that it distributes wealth, income, medical care, etc., in a way that disproportionately favors white people. People of color, who are very disproportionately poor, do not receive equitable income, or medical care, housing, and other services. The development of handicaps is more likely given these conditions. The problem of the disproportionate representation of non-white children in special education is, in this sense, a reflection of a larger societal problem. Our society's unresolved stance toward cultural differences further complicates this problem: Recent educational reform (the "excellence" movement) tends to ignore issues of equity and respect for cultural difference. Excellence is equated with high academic performance, particularly in math and the sciences. That other kinds of learning may be more important to some groups is virtually ignored.

The children referred to and placed in special education are probably those children that teachers find most difficult to teach; extra instructional resources may be needed to help these children learn. Disproportionate representation of minorities in special education programs is less a problem in schools with higher bilingual education program enrollment. Special education in schools which lack other supportive programs (e.g., bilingual programs) may serve as the one available instructional resource for the student who is different. The label becomes only an administrative device to obtain services.

Poverty, gender, minority group membership, and handicap

I hinted at the connection between poverty, race or culture, and handicap above. Data from the Census Bureau illustrates this connection.

In 1981, less than 10% of white families lived in poverty, while 26% of Spanish-origin families and 34% of Black families were below the poverty line (Figure 11). The proportion of families below poverty has increased since 1979. Minority families, however, are two-and-a-half to three-and-a-half times more likely to live in poverty than white families.

The proportion of women in poverty is even higher (Figure 12). In 1981, about 25% of white women, 40% of women of Spanish origin, and almost 50% of Black women lived in poverty. Strides made between 1969 and 1979 in the economic condition of women, by this statistic at least, are eroding.

Children are also increasingly in poverty. The Census Bureau began reporting poverty data by race and age in 1979. For children 5 to 17 years of age (Figure 13) the situation since 1979 has substantially worsened.

The clear connection between poverty, gender, race, and age, when combined with the connection between poverty and disability outlined above, presents a clear message: If (predominantly white) parents and educators are to reach out to parents from other cultures and races they will have to reach across the poverty line, often to single mothers. That line may represent a far greater barrier than anything associated with race.

Conclusion

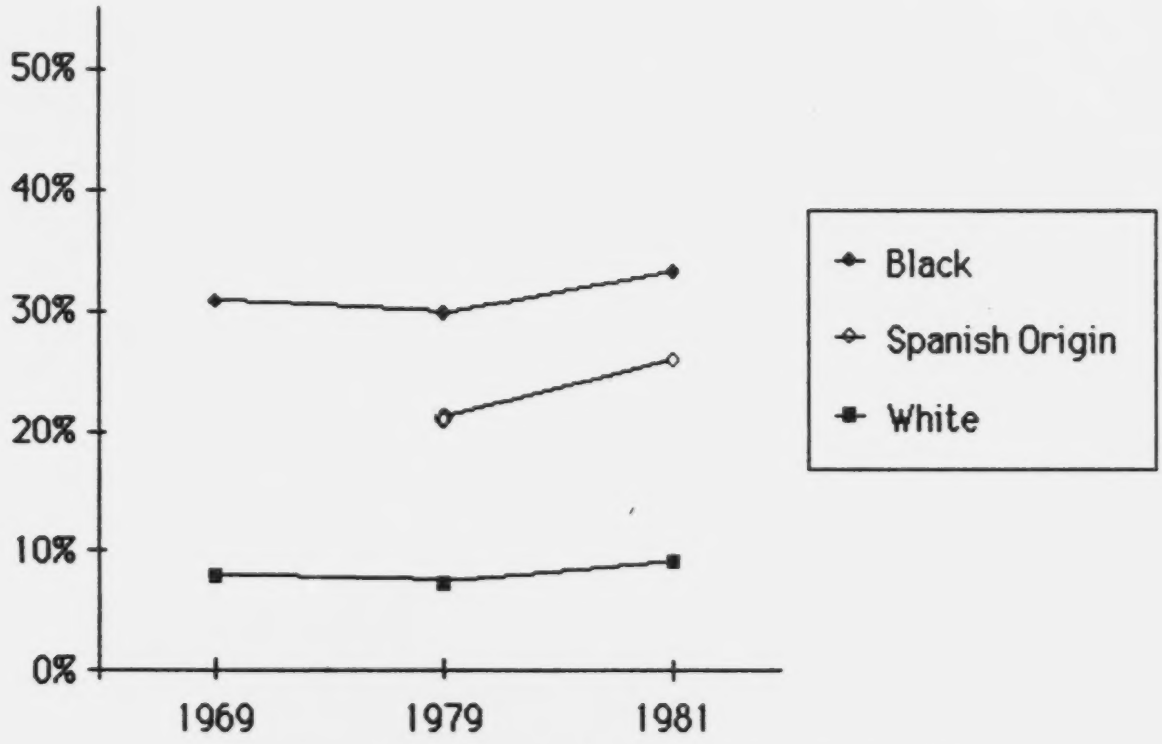
The population of the western states is changing: Our face is becoming more representative of the human family. I welcome that.

This paper has bombarded the reader with numbers. In a sense, the numbers are lifeless: They lack the vitality, the spark that the reader will find in the other papers in this volume. But the numbers also present a challenge, particularly to the parents and professionals involved in WestLink:

- It is time to reach out to those we haven't yet involved. Members of racial and ethnic minorities represent a major portion of the region's population. It is time for the membership of WestLink to be a more representative cross-section of the parents in the western states.

Figure 11

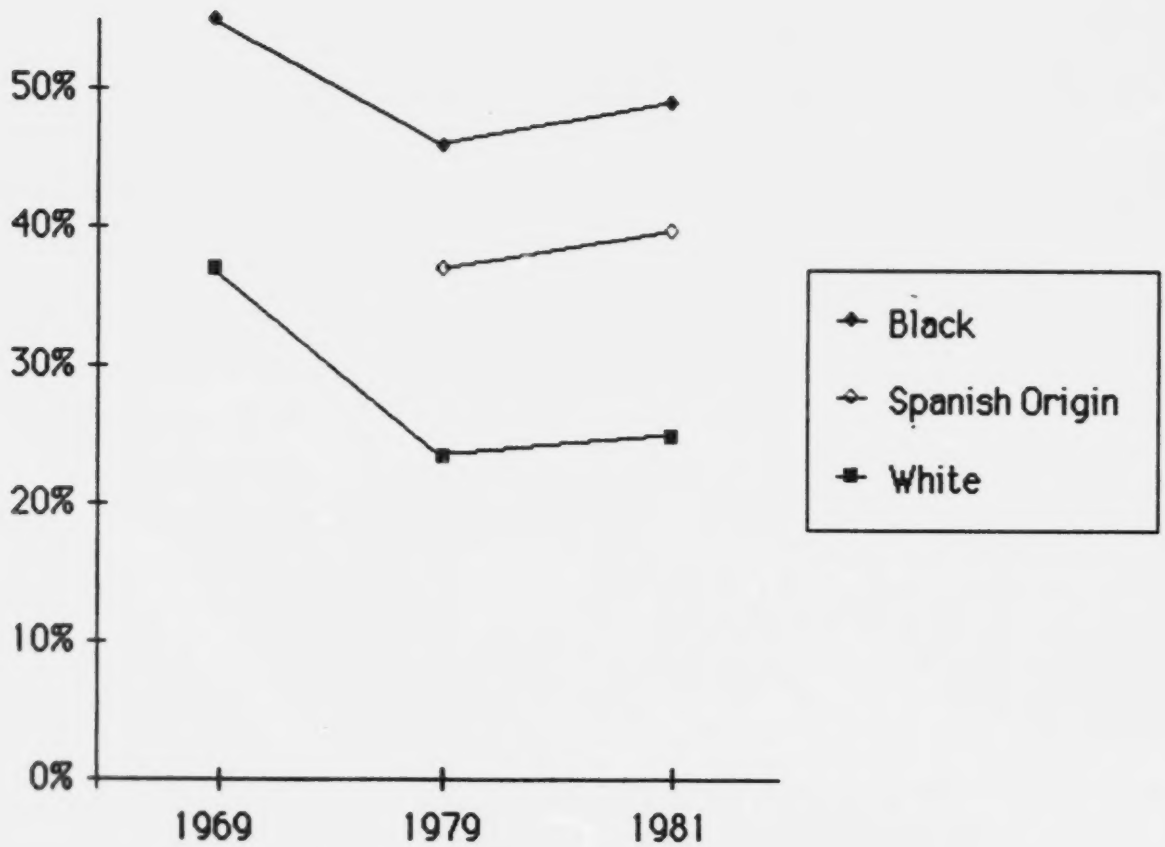
Families in Poverty by Race and Spanish Origin
(1969 to 1981)



[Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 138 (March, 1983)]

Figure 12

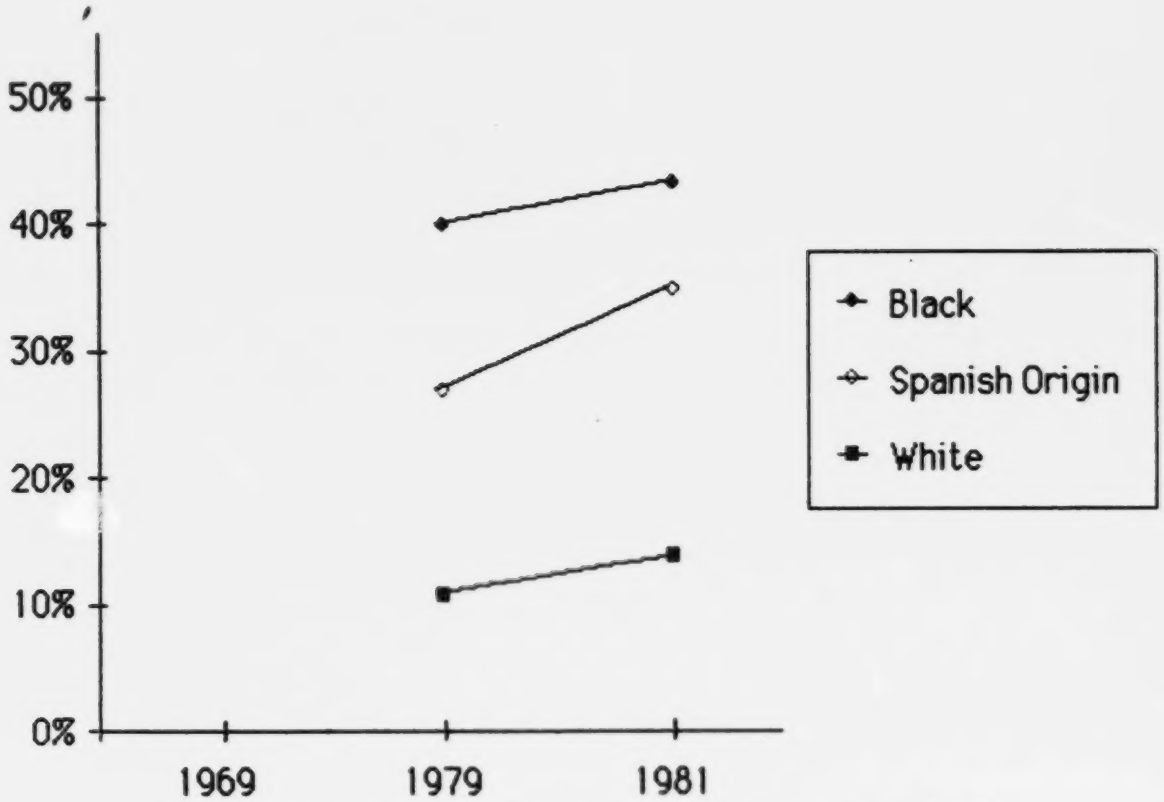
Women in Poverty by Race and Spanish Origin
(1969 to 1981)



[Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 138 (March, 1983)]

Figure 13

Children in Poverty by Race and Spanish Origin
(1969 to 1981)



[Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 138 (March, 1983)]

- Differences in race, culture, and ethnicity are important, but they are not barriers to interaction. They are part of the identity of individuals. We can learn about, respect, and rejoice in those differences.

- The hardest issue we face is the connection between poverty, race, gender, and disability. They are inextricably bound. This is most destressing. Reaching across that boundary of poverty will be hard for many who care. It can be made easier by our genuine respect for other differences.

Public Law 94-142 is now almost eleven years old. It seems a good time to remember that it is civil rights legislation. Its heritage is Brown v. Board of Education (1954) and the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1965. It would be tragic indeed if that were forgotten by the families of those who have benefited most by the law's protections and guarantees.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The area served by the Western Regional Resource Center includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon and Washington, the territories of American Samoa and Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and the developing governments of the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Palau.

2. See, for example, Louis Harris and Associates. Former teachers in America. New York: Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1985. In interviews with former teachers, they report that former teachers earn more money (about $4,000 median increase) and experience less stress in their new jobs. The authors note "...that many historic attactions of teaching -- personal satisfaction, vacations, and job security -- now are outweighed by salient disadvantages." (p.5).

3. Education Week, "Here they come, ready or not." May 14, 1986, p.28.

4. Edmondson, B. "The education of children." American Demographics, 8 (2), February 1986.

5. Education Week, p.20.

6. Ibid., p.21.

7. Ibid., p.16.

8. Languages in the Pacific islands include Carolinian, Chamorro, Guamanian, Kosraean, Marshallese, Mortlockese, Nukuoran or Kapingamarangan, Palauan, Part-Samoan, Pingelapese or Mokilese, Ponapean, Samoan, Tongan, Trukese, Ulithian or Woleanian, Yapese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, German, Irish, and various others.

9. Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy. "Projections of California's Hispanic Population, 1985-2000." Sacramento: California Department of Education, 1984.

10. Chinn, P. Education of culturally and linguistically different exceptional children. Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children, 1984.

11. Ysseldyke, J., M. Thurlow, J. Graden, C. Wesson, B. Algozzine, and S. Deno. "Generalizations from five years of research on assessment and decision making: The University of Minnesota Institute." Exceptional Education Quarterly, 1983, 4 (1), pp. 75-93.

12. Rosenthal, R. and L. Jacobson (Pygmalion in the classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968) is the most often cited study of the impact of teacher expectations on student performance. Although their methodology has been criticized, their results generally have been confirmed. Brophy, J. and C. Evertson (Teacher-student relationships: Causes and consequences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974) examine the powerful influence that socio-economic status of children has on teacher expectations for academic performance.

13. Ysseldyke et al., p. 77.

14. Glass, G. "Effectiveness of special education." Policy Studies Review, 1983, 2 (1).

15. Sarason, S. and J. Doris. Educational handicap, public policy, and social history. New York: The Free Press, 1979.

CONCEPTS: IS THERE A MELTING POT?

Leonard Baca

To establish the frame, Baca first encouraged that we think in terms of "cultural pluralism" rather than "a melting pot." The melting pot theory assumes that when different peoples live together they will over time adopt a common set of values and customs. This theory is too simplistic. If it has worked, it has been only for those groups whose physical features and values were very similar to those of the dominant cultural group. Cultural pluralism as a theory is receiving much more enthusiastic support. This theory assumes that each cultural group will retain and maintain its own values and customs and that we all will learn to accept and respect each other's differences. Let's not try to make us all the same. Instead, let's celebrate our differences and enjoy life together.

Also important to our discussion would be a common definition of "culture." Baca offered Goodenough's (1976) for our use: Culture is a way of perceiving, believing, evaluating, and behaving.

To expand on this definition Baca used a series of transparencies (Cross Cultural Resource Center, Department of Anthropology, California State University, Sacramento, 1979) and through them explained:

We each belong to several microcultures:

- age
- exceptionality
- gender/sex
- urban-suburban-rural
- geographic region
- religion
- socioeconomic level
- ethnic or national origin.

Culture <u>is</u>:

- dynamic, neither fixed nor static
- a continuous and cumulative process
- learned and shared by a people
- behavior and values exhibited by a people
- creative and meaningful to our lives
- symbolically represented through language and people interacting
- that which guides people in their thinking, feeling and acting.

Culture is not:

- mere artifacts or material used by people
- a "laundry list" of traits and facts
- biological traits such as race
- the ideal and romantic heritage of a people as seen through music, dance, holidays, etc.
- higher class status derived from a knowledge of the arts, manners, literature, etc.
- something to be bought, sold, or passed out.

Components of a culture include:

- language (there are over 100 in our country)
- food (many of our cultural experiences revolve around food)
- dress (or how we present our body)
- socialization patterns (e.g., the predictable relationships between a mother and daughter in a particular culture)
- value system (the most important component).

Different aspects of culture are:

1. Ideal culture:
    - that which people believe they do or ought to do
    - expressed in proverbs, stories, myths, jokes.
2. Real culture:
    - the way people actually behave
    - expressed in acts of deviation, failure, or in complaints.
3. Explicit culture (also, surface culture):
    - the observable elements of people's culture
    - recognized in areas such as values, attitudes, fears, religious and spiritual beliefs, etc.
    - recognized in items such as style of dress, speech, use of tools, type of house, and concrete behavior
    - that which people are conscious of -- the known and visible
4. Implicit culture (also, deep culture):
    - the hidden or unconscious elements of a people's culture
    - recognized in areas such as values, attitudes, fears, religious and spiritual beliefs, etc.
    - that which is beneath the surface or taken for granted. (For example, verbs we use with watches illustrate the various concepts we have for Time. For Latinos, the watch "walks;" for Indians, it "moves;" for Germans, it "functions;" for French it "marches;" for English, it "runs."

There are four types of acculturation:

- Assimilation occurs when Culture 1 and Language 1 (C1/L1) become Culture 2 and Language 2 (C2/L2). Assimilation can be detrimental to the person. It can mean denying who you are.
- Integration is C1/L1 blended with C2/L2 and is the most desirable, enriching.
- Rejection is C1/L1 without C2/L2. This is considered ethnocentrism and is okay as a first step toward integration.
- Deculturation results in neither C1/L1 nor C2/L2. It is the most tragic and can be a cause of violence and mental illness.

After helping us develop a common understanding of "culture," Baca turned to the reasons why we should know about culture and made these points:

- Culture is a means of survival.
- All people are cultural beings and need to be aware of how culture affects peoples' behavior.
- Culture is at work in every classroom, and every agency.
- Culture affects how learning is organized, how school rules and curriculum are developed, and how teaching methods and evaluation procedures are implemented.
- Schools can prepare students for effective citizenship in dealing with the cultures of the world.
- Culture can help solve problems and conflicts in the school and in the community.
- Culture is an innovative part of Bilingual Education and needs to be understood if such programs are to survive and expand.

Particularly for people involved in the education of children with special needs and their families, it is important to know about the cultures of the families whom we serve. Too easily--unconsciously--we can give the message that the family's culture is inferior. That abuse is doubled when the child has a disability. Children and parents need positive regard for their culture if they are to build the self-respect necessary for effective learning and parenting. If we are to complete the implementation of PL 94-142 and go beyond our focus on providing full services, we need now to set the goal of designing appropriate education within the different cultures we serve.

To accomplish such a goal we need to examine our individual world views. We each have "a world view" which helps us organize our life experiences and provides a way of looking at the world. Our world views are greatly influenced by the several cultures to which we belong. To develop a world view that includes a cross-cultural perspective and to help others develop such a perspective, Baca recommends:

1. Becoming aware of culture in ourselves, which:
    - involves perception or knowledge gained through our senses and interpreted internally
    - is not always obvious since it is shared socially with those we meet on an every day basis
    - helps in understanding and avoiding areas of conflict and allows us to learn through contrast
    - implies that thought processes which occur within each of us also occur within others, but may take on a different shape or meaning.

2. Becoming aware of culture in others, which:
    - involves a certain degree of ethnocentrism which is the belief that our own cultural ways are correct and superior to others'
    - is natural and occurs in each of us
    - while it helps to develop pride and positive self-image, it can also be harmful if carried to the extreme of developing an intolerance for people of other cultures
    - is best represented by the concept of "cultural relativity" which is the belief that there are many cultural ways that are correct, each in its own location and context
    - is essential to building respect for cultural differences and appreciation for cultural similarities.

Baca suggests Gollnick and Chinn (1986) as a resource of additional ideas for developing a cross-cultural perspective.

In conclusion, Baca proposed that as we study and work with other cultures we also consider a transcultural approach--an approach in which we would adopt some of the ways of other cultures (see Pai and Morris, 1978, for detail). If a way of doing or viewing something has lasted for thousands of years perhaps it would bring satisfaction and meaning to others of us, too. Let's appreciate our differences, broaden our world views, and reach out to others' ways of bringing joy and meaning to our lives.

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Section II

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND PARENT PROGRAMS

Papers prepared by the seven presenters are included in this section. Presenters were providers of parent programs within different cultures and communities. The seven large cultural groupings were selected as those which would be the most meaningful in looking at the diversity within the WRRC region. Each presenter was asked to address issues relating to traditional and changing cultural norms and how these impact the programs they operate with parents. The following list of topics and questions was used to structure both the oral and written remarks:

- Family Structure:
  - Nuclear family? Extended family?
  - Matriarchy? Patriarchy?
  - Who owns family property? Anyone? Males? Females?

- The Place of the Individual:
  - Does the culture encourage/discourage individual identity? What is the cultural view of "ego?"
  - What does disability mean in the culture? Are individual differences recognized/acknowleged?
  - What is the social order? Are family/clan a primary determinant of position? Are skills a source of status?

- Child-Rearing:
  - Whose child is this? Who "owns" the child, if anyone? Are children reared most often by parents? Other relatives? The whole community?
  - When are children no longer children? Is there a definable right of passage to adolescence or adulthood? What does that mean for handicapped or disabled children?

- Social Norms:
  - Who is in charge of morality? What are the rules for right and wrong? How are these rules determined? (e.g., by elders, by church . . .)

- How is health or well-being construed? What is the role of "medicine" in the culture? How does disability/handicap relate to concepts of health/well-being?
- How is time viewed? What is a normal day or week? Are schedules culturally important? How?

• Other Social Institutions:
- What social institutions or mechanisms exist for passing messages/news? For support of others? What role does media serve?
- What are the social opportunities for meeting as groups? Do people form groups to meet for particular purposes, or do groups exist (e.g., clans, churches, etc.) which are institutionalized ways to address any issue?

• Implications for parent training/support:
- How do each of the above topics affect the way you operate "parent programs?" (e.g., who is the target of such efforts? How do social norms about disability affect language/program design? Where do you meet with parents?)

The resulting papers provide interesting and useful insights into cultures other than the white Anglo mainstream culture. As was true of the presentations, these papers give food for thought and engender a sense of the richness of cultural diversity existing in this country. Further, they capture some very important issues for providing parent training and support. Following brief introductory notes about each of the presenters will be the papers, a summary of the panel discussion, and a list of ideas for reaching parents of other cultures.

CAROLYN YANO is Client Program Coordinator at Harbor Regional Center in Long Beach, California. She became interested in outreach to Asian families ten years ago when she joined a sheltered workshop for Asian Pacific disabled persons to develop and implement a bilingual, bicultural outreach team to identify those in the community with disabilities and to provide access to services offered by a variety of public and private agencies. In her present position, approximately one third of her caseload is Asian Pacific children, many of whom are Indochinese refugees. She interacts frequently with the families of these children, accompanying parents to IEP meetings and counseling families in problem-solving and crisis management.

GEORGE RODRIGUEZ-EAGAR is Director of the Bilingual Education Program at Mesa Community College in Mesa, Arizona. He holds degrees in Latin American Studies and Spanish Literature and is currently working toward an advanced degree in Chicano Literature. As bilingual programs director of a local education agency, he worked with parent advisory committees. At Mesa Community College he has conducted numerous workshops intended to give parents tools for reinforcing learning at home.

FIDELA LIMTIACO is principal of Chief Brody Memorial School, the self-contained Special Education facility on Guam. She was a regular classroom teacher and went back to school in Special Education after the birth of her child with a disability.

TELE'A FALEALII is Deputy Director of Educational Services, Department of Education in Pago Pago, American Samoa. During his career in education, he has worked as a high school principal, classroom teacher, program director of secondary education and state director of vocational education. He has served as a member of the House of Representatives of the Legislature of American Samoa and was Chairman of the House Committee on Education. In 1974 he was given the title of High Talking Chief. Tele'a is the grandfather of a two-and-a-half year old granddaughter with a disability.

TERRY TAFOYA is Professor of Psychology at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington. At the college, he directs a program called "Counseling the Culturally Different." He is a clinical psychologist and a family therapist and trains doctors in family therapy through the University of Washington School of Medicine. Terry has been named a National Humanities Scholar for his work in cross-cultural mental health.

MARY AMBROSE is a District-Wide Home-School Liaison for the Alaska Native Education Program in Fairbanks, Alaska. She works with Athabaskan families, sometimes representing them in IEP meetings.

PATRICIA MULLINGS-FRANCO is a Training Coordinator for the Black Families component of the Multi-Cultural Training-of-Trainers Project, located at the Children's Hospital of Los Angeles. She has provided extensive consultation to Head Start's program for the handicapped in program planning and evaluation and teacher education. Her graduate training included a specialty in parent education. She has worked and traveled extensively in Alaska, Central and South America, and speaks Portuguese and Spanish.

ASIAN FAMILIES

Carolyn Yano

Within the next 15 years, the Asian population in the country will approximately double, to reach between 10.5 and 11.5 million, thus representing the highest percentage growth of any major ethnic group in the U.S.

Millions of new immigrants--approximately 300,000 per year--will have primarily contributed to this accelerated population growth. Demographic trends indicate that recent Asian immigrants have been characterized by predominantly non-English speaking families with young children, including significant numbers of children with exceptional needs. This is most dramatically illustrated among the Indochinese refugees, many of whose children are the products of poor to non-existent prenatal care, malnutrition and disease in overcrowded refugee camps. Others have endured the trauma of war and carry with them emotional scars which could have long range effects on their adjustment to a new culture. Some immigrants--again, primarily Indochinese--come from remote, rural areas where schooling is not available. These children enter our schools from the perspective of an educational vacuum.

The identification of increasing numbers of special needs Asian immigrant children in communities throughout the nation has prompted public agencies to look at corresponding critical needs and service delivery issues, particularly the continued underrepresentation of Asian students and clients within an array of educational, developmental, and family support services programs. For example, within the public schools, there is overwhelming evidence to indicate that significant numbers of non- or limited-English speaking Asian children with various handicapping conditions are either not participating in or may be misplaced in special education programs as a result of underidentification and misdiagnosis. Furthermore, the parents of such children face multiple barriers which inhibit their access to needed services and information. Such barriers include: lack of language-appropriate parent education materials and information concerning resources, rights, and responsibilities; lack of qualified bilingual, bicultural personnel; lack of culturally responsive service models; and inadequate or inappropriate outreach methods employed by provider agencies.

Any efforts to enhance resources and thus improve services to those communities must take into consideration the complex familial, cultural, and community systems within a historical and ecological context.

The term "Asian" constitutes an extremely heterogeneous, multi-generational grouping of approximately 29 distinct ethnic groups with diverse national origins and histories of experience in America (this number does not include Pacific Islanders, however). Similarly, they speak distinctively different languages and practice unique cultural traditions and customs. They come from the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan.

Stereotypic, undifferentiated and hostile perceptions of Asian immigrants have alarmingly persisted to the present time. Within the past few years, increasing acts of domestic racial violence and a resurgence of scapegoating and anti-Asian activities have been documented throughout the country.

Among the most vulnerable and visible targets of this backlash is the Indochinese refugee population, which has grown to over 700,000 since 1975. The American assimilation of these refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia is part of their continuing ordeal of decades of war, personal loss, societal destruction, and the dangers of flight and detention. Survival and adjustment to radical environmental transitions have threatened the basic fiber of these cultures: family unity and cultural ties.

Immigration policies have created hardships for other Asian immigrants as well. One such policy involves a Waiver of Excludability which may delay the entrance of a disabled child into this country, typically for periods of one to three years after the parents are allowed to immigrate. In addition, the Waiver prohibits the receipt of any public form of financial aid for a period of 8 years. Fearful of jeopardizing their immigration status, parents may demonstrate a reluctance to utilize any type of support and assistance offered by public agencies.

The historical experiences of loss, discrimination and forces which erode family stability impact the immigrant parents' identity, their perceptions of institutions and agencies, and their effective participation in their child's care. Advocates and providers must acknowledge and be sensitive to such stresses as they relate to respective ethnic groups.

The Asian immigrant experience in the United States has been further characterized by complex acculturation processes. In response to a

generally hostile and threatening environment, early immigrants formed segregated communities that served as buffers for their survival. Such isolation contributed to the reinforcement and preservation of well-ingrained cultural traditions. Despite increasing acculturation among successive generations of Asian Americans, selected traditional cultural values and corresponding family socialization practices have persisted. Moreover, recent Asian immigrant populations have also established residence in ethnic communities wherein their respective languages and cultural styles (both traditional and contemporary) are maintained.

Thus, despite considerable variation among the generations of Asians in this country, certain common and enduring cultural traditions are evident.

Traditional cultural orientations and values among the various Asian ethnic groups are rooted in civilizations which have endured for over 5,000 years. Throughout the latter half, most Asian cultures have been principally influenced by the doctrines and philosophies of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. Each offers a view of the world and prescriptions for living which emphasize selected virtues and strict adherence to codes of behavior.

Confucian thought, in particular, is guided by a philosophical orientation wherein harmony is the keynote of existence. The individual must strive to achieve intrapsychic and interpersonal harmony as well as harmony with nature and time (past, present and future). This orientation is manifested in characteristic "situation centeredness." As such, there is less emphasis on the individual ego, rather a "collective," family, and even an ethnic ego. In interpersonal relationships, the individual mobilizes his thought and action to conform to social reality rather than making social reality conform to him. Internal regulation (introspection and the development of self-control) is critical to this process and serves to promote the establishment of a stable social order.

Maintenance of harmony entails maintenance of social order and dictates conformity to rules of propriety. Individual status is defined in terms of well-defined traditional roles and corresponding formally prescribed behaviors. Thus, each individual occupies a definite place in society as well as within the family and must "know his place" and act in accordance with his position. Family and social behaviors are thus governed by esteem for hierarchical roles and relationships and the virtue of filial piety. Filial piety is the prototype of desirable interpersonal relationships and consists of unquestioning loyalty and obedience to parents, and concern for their needs and wishes. While originating between the child and his parents, this relationship ultimately extends to relations with all authority.

Prescribed roles and relationships thus emphasize subordination and interdependence. Each individual views himself as an integral part of the totality of his family and the larger social structure, and experiences a social/psychological dependence on others. Cooperation, obligation, and reciprocity are essential elements of social interaction. Again, these values sharply contrast and often come into conflict with Western ideals of autonomy and self-reliance within a society with significantly less well-defined and often ambiguous social/familial roles and expectations.

These well-defined and highly interdependent roles exist within a patriarchal, vertical structure. Parents' foremost concerns revolve around their parental roles and child rearing responsibilities. They are prepared to sacrifice personal needs in serving the interest of their children and in providing for the welfare and security of the family. In turn, the parent assumes the right to demand unquestioning obedience from the child. This authority extends also to grandparents, uncles, aunts who are clearly paternal and maternal in their involvement with the child. The extended family is an important concept for service providers in that discipline, child rearing, and decision-making may originate from a number of people around the child. Such authority translates into personal accountability and responsibility for the child's behavior which is considered a direct reflection on the parents' ability to provide proper guidance. Problems, on the part of the child, are thus generally attributed to inadequate or improper training at home. Dysfunctional or antisocial behaviors reflect on and shame the entire family. An illustration of the manner in which this basic Asian cultural value negatively impacts the school-parent relationship is that when parents are called in for a conference/IEP meeting in which the child's difficulties in school are discussed at length, many Asian parents experience tremendous loss of face. They interpret the problems as a personal/parental failure and, thus, feeling somewhat chastised, may be reluctant to or may decline to participate again.

Asian cultures are unquestionably patriarchal, as previously mentioned. Men occupy the dominant position in the family and are considered the heads of households. Women have the basic responsibility for overseeing the well-being and prosperity of the family unit and, as such, are assigned the task of conveying moral and ethical values to the children, as well as taking full charge of their physical care. This can present challenges to service providers when dealing with mother as informant and one who carries out recommendations, while acknowledging father as the decision-maker.

While serving as principal guides for thinking and behavior, traditional cultural orientations and values have profoundly influenced the socialization experience of Asian children. Available literature reveals obvious variation in the child rearing values and practices of respective Asian ethnic groups; however, as is the case with basic cultural values, there is significantly more commonality across ethnic groups with respect to traditional child rearing practices.

Each Asian group treasures the newborn child as a "gift from the Gods," the center of the universe. While proper training and learning is considered essential, the child is initially perceived as being relatively helpless and not responsible for his actions. Parents are therefore very tolerant, permissive (by Western standards) and immediately gratify the infant's early dependency needs. Mother-infant interaction is characterized by an emphasis on close physical contact rather than active vocal stimulation. Children usually sleep in the same room or bed with their parents for an extended period of time. There is an absence of rigid schedules and parents generally have later age expectations with respect to early developmental milestones such as weaning, self-feeding, toileting. Throughout the infant and toddler period, the child is provided with a very nurturing, secure, and predictable environment by parents and other members of the nuclear and extended family. This experience serves as the foundation for the development of a very strong family attachment.

The preschool period represents a transitional phase wherein the child is expected to assume increasingly greater responsibility for his own behavior. Parental expectations for acquisition of pre-academic and self-help skills are now more evident. Upon reaching school age, the child experiences accelerated movement toward independence training within the context of the family and home environment. The child is included in adult affairs and activities such as weddings, funerals, and social and business functions. In this way, the child receives early exposure to socially appropriate patterns and proper codes of behavior which he quickly learns through participation, observation, and imitation. The immediate parent-child relationship also becomes more formal and adult demands are more rigidly enforced. In contrast to the indulgence experienced during earlier years, the child is now subjected to markedly increased discipline.

Behaviors which are punished include disobedience, aggression (particularly sibling-directed), and failure to fulfill one's primary responsiblities. One form of discipline used to a great extent by most Asian cultures includes the use of shaming, scolding, or guilt induction

which result in "loss of face." The child will be reminded of the subsequent ridicule and rejection he may encounter from those whose approval he seeks.

Highly valued behaviors such as completing chores and academic achievement are recognized indirectly. In essence, a child is expected to do well without contingent rewards or social reinforcement. Acknowledgement of accomplishment is often in the form of parental encouragement to "do better," to strive for even higher levels of achievement. These normative patterns of behavior extend outside of familial relationships, whereby praising oneself or family members in the presence of others is prohibited. In fact, compliments are often politely dismissed or negated by immediate countering of faults and criticisms of oneself.

As the child matures and eventually acquires younger siblings, he too must assume selected child rearing responsibilities which augment those of his parents. Older siblings are routinely delegated the responsibility of caring for younger siblings and are thus expected to model adult-like behaviors--thereby setting a "good example." Like the parent, the older sibling is also expected to periodically sacrifice personal needs in favor of younger siblings. These roles are formalized to the extent that children address each other by kinship terms which indicate whether they are older or younger and which may further specify their ordinal position in the family. The "reciprocity" inherent in sibling relationships is clearly illustrated in the classic parental response to sibling arguments: the older sibling is scolded for not setting a good example and the younger is chastised for failing to respect their elder sibling. The child thus learns to view his role within the family and society in terms of relationships and obligations and specified roles, all with the keen awareness of the effects of his behavior on others.

In general, Asian parents are more controlling, restrictive, and protective of their children. Offspring are taught to suppress aggressive behavior, overt expressions of negative emotions, and personal grievances; they must inhibit strong feelings and exercise self control in order to maintain family harmony. There is a typical avoidance of frank discussions or highly verbal communication between parent and child, particularly in the area of sexuality. Physical contact is minimized and public expressions of affection are rare and embarrassing. The communication pattern is also one-way: the parent speaks, the child listens. The father is particularly distant in this respect and does not generally invite confidences nor initiate talks with his children. The mother-child relationship is closer and more verbal.

The protective and controlling orientation of Asian parents may also be manifested in a basic distrust of outsiders. In an attempt to control outside influence, parents often restrict the child's social interaction by allowing access to only selected role models (e.g., family and close friends). This may extend also to the peer group and friends. The child is also allowed to be dependent upon his parents for a significantly longer period of time in comparison to Anglo children of the same age. Independent peer interaction and autonomous social behavior (leaving the "nest") occur at much later ages relative to Western norms.

The child-rearing and socialization practices characteristic of traditionally oriented Asian families can be thrown into turmoil with the presence of a developmentally disabled child. Emotional reactions, subsequent coping and acceptance are influenced by a number of variables, unique to the degree and type of disability, the family itself, as well as their experiences in receiving information and assistance from professionals.

In general, traditional views pertaining to the causes and nature of handicapping conditions create family embarrassment and shame. Even if exposed to objective information about the child's disability, parents must still cope with the prospect that their disabled child will be unable to fulfill expectations of academic or occupational achievement which will do credit to the family name. Expectations regarding the normal maturation process of acquiring appropriate social and responsible behavior are often abandoned. Parents may be highly tolerant of deviant behavior in young disabled children and reluctant to admit to what they perceive as an inability to cope with the problems by seeking professional resources. A sense of parental inadequacy is significantly acute if the child is exhibiting persistent learning and/or psychosocial difficulties in the school setting. If the child is significantly handicapped, Asian parents display a tendency to treat the child as an infant with corresponding expectations for developmental growth (e.g., teachers are often heard to complain that there is little reinforcement in the home for their attempts to develop and improve self-help skills in the classroom setting).

Most Asian cultures subscribe to a philosophical perspective which is basically fatalistic in nature. If life is presumed to be essentially unalterable and unpredictable, there is a need for resignation to external conditions and events over which one supposedly has little or no control. Within this context, human suffering is viewed as part of the natural order. Acceptance of one's fate, perseverance without complaint, maintenance of inner strength, and emotional self-restraint are thus considered necessary expressions of dignity. Parents may accordingly be

expected to stoically accept their fate and lifelong burden as principal caretakers of their handicapped children. However, depending upon the parents' perceived cause(s) of a child's disability, they may, nonetheless, seek the advice of "indigenous healers" and utilize traditional remedies such as healing ceremonies and rituals, herbal medicine, and acupuncture.

Among the various Asian ethnic groups, major handicapping conditions (e.g., serious emotional disturbance, mental retardation, physical/sensory disabilities) are traditionally viewed with considerable stigma. Such stigma is created, in part, by traditional attributions which link specific handicapping conditions to various causes.

One of the more common explanations for the existence of a disability in a child is that it represents a punishment for sins or moral transgressions committed by the parents or their ancestors. This notion of hereditary taint can best be illustrated by a study conducted by Dr. Chan in which a Chinese father reported experiencing a great deal of guilt associated with the fact that he had gambled extensively and was involved in an extra-marital affair at the time of his wife's pregnancy with their child--thereby causing his son to be born with cerebral palsy. A Japanese mother of an emotionally disturbed girl believed her daughter had inherited "bad genes" from a maternal great uncle who was an alcoholic with a violent temper.

Another type of attribution is the assumption that handicapped individuals are possessed by demons, or evil spirits. For example, one Korean mother thought her severely retarded daughter was possessed by a ghost and would regularly take the child to a monk who sang chants and provided her with a lucky charm made from herbs to hang around her neck. In cases of epilepsy, family members are known to similarly seek the help of monks, priests, or shamans to perform healing rituals or exorcisms to drive the "demon" from the body. Yet another mother of an autistic child insisted that her temper outbursts during her pregnancy were the cause of the child's disorder.

Apart from moralistic, spiritual, or superstitious attributions, there exist other traditional beliefs which account for handicapping conditions in terms of an imbalance (excess or deficiency) of physiological functions. These beliefs originate from the theoretical system of Chinese medicine which emphasizes the importance of the mind-body relationship and the principle that health is maintained when the forces of Yin and Yang and the "five elements" of the body are balanced and in harmony.

Whenever an imbalance occurs, illness results. Traditional Chinese family members may thus relate handicapping conditions in children to an imbalanced diet during the mother's pregnancy.

Traditional assumptions regarding the etiology of various handicapping conditions are often accompanied by traditional views/explanations concerning the nature of specific disorders. Among many Asian languages, a number of different terms are used to describe characteristics associated with conditions such as mental retardation or mental illness; these terms are often highly varied, possibly inconsistent, and do not necessarily have the same meaning, nor do they correspond to the English definitions. Furthermore, mild mental retardation and similar conditions are more attributed to deviance and oppositional behaviors and therefore equated to mental illness whereas physical disabilities and more severely involved conditions may be viewed exclusively from a medical standpoint.

Critical to the process of gaining initial access to Asian families and clients is also identifying those community institutions and communication networks which already exist. In areas of higher Asian population, there are a number of bilingual vernaculars, reaching the larger communities, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese. In less well established and smaller groups (e.g., other Southeast Asians), communication may be primarily by "word-of-mouth" although this is facilitated by concentrations of people in ethnic communities. Many Asian ethnic groups maintain cultural and political organizations/centers with recognized community leaders. These organizations often play a key role in the cohesiveness of the communities and serve as powerful support systems.

Traditional views of handicapping conditions and related coping strategies clearly influence service utilization behaviors among Asian families. Beyond cultural orientations and fears, however, lack of adequate information about available resources as well as institutional barriers (including language barriers) continue to serve as deterrents to effective utilization of existing services by Asian parents with special needs children. Sufficient knowledge of available services must be complemented by trust in those who provide such services if follow through is to occur. The development of such trust is facilitated by awareness of and sensitivity to cultural styles and behaviors on the part of professionals and service providers.

CHICANO AND HISPANIC FAMILIES

George Rodriguez Eagar

FAMILY

The sense of the extended family is still very much alive among Hispanics in the United States. The extended family, which is comprised of aunts/uncles, grandparents, compadres, madrinos/padrinos (godparents), cousins and other family members related through marriage, serves as a network for mutual help and assistance in moments of need--economic, corporal, emotional, personal. This is true not just for first generation families, but for second and third generation families as well. Wherever possible, family members tend to live in close geographical proximity to one another. This facilitates frequent visits to respective family members' homes. Keeping up on the family and relatives is the usual topic of conversation at an informal or formal family gathering.

The compadrazgo system or godparent association is still an integral component in the traditionally oriented Catholic Chicano home. Since godparents (compadres) are required for initiation into various sacraments of the Church, e.g., baptism, first holy communion, confirmation, and matrimony, one readily perceives how the basic nuclear family unit begins to expand outward in a network system. Godparents may be chosen from within the immediate circle of family members, but good friends or even persons such as the parents' employers may be chosen as the child's sponsors, since this is considered prestigious and offers an opportunity for social and economic benefits to the family. The godparent role is generally taken very seriously, and should a tragedy or illness befall the parents of the children, the godparents are oftentimes seen as responsible for the well being of their godchild (ahijado). Godchildren are encouraged to establish a very intimate relationship with their godparents (padrinos and madrinas). The children in turn often refer to their godparents as Nino or Nina. The godparents often lavish their godchild with gifts, especially on their birthday, at Christmas time and other special occasions. Children will oftentimes rather consult and seek advice from their padrinos than from their parents.

The husband or father is the autocratic head of the household. He tends to remain aloof and independent from the rest of the family, though these attitudes are certainly changing. Few decisions can be made without his approval or knowledge. He is free to come and go as he pleases without explanation to or questions by other family members. In essence the father represents authority within the family. All other family

members are expected to be respectful of him and accede to his will or direction. An important part of "machismo" or maleness, however, is the use of his authority within the family in a just and fair manner. Should he misuse his authority, he will undoubtedly lose respect, especially from his children.

In relating to his children the father frequently serves as the disciplinarian. He assumes responsibility for the behavior of the family members in or outside of the home. Misbehavior by another family member is a direct reflection on the father, even though he might not have been present at the time of the misconduct.

During their earlier years the father is often permissive, warm, and close to the children. This changes significantly as each child reaches the onset of puberty. At this time the father's behavior toward his children becomes much more reserved, authoritarian, and demanding of respect. In Rubel's terms, there is a discontinuity of affective relationship between the father and the children as they enter puberty.

The wife/mother is supposed to be completely devoted to her husband and children. Her role is to serve the needs of her husband, support his actions and decisions, and take care of the home and children. In substance she represents the nurturant aspects of the family's life. Although she is usually highly respected and revered, her personal needs are considered to be secondary to those of the other family members. Her life tends to revolve around her family and a few close friends. There is usually a close continuing relationship between mother and children, which perpetuates throughout her life. In contrast to the father and his relationship to the children, the mother continues to be close and warm, serving and nurturing even when her children are grown, married, and have children of their own.

There is presently much confusion and conflict among Chicanos, as there is among Anglos, as to the role of the woman in society. There are fewer and fewer women who are willing to accept the traditional role assigned to them according to traditional values. Chicanas are struggling for greater equality not only in the Anglo society but also in comparison to the Mexican American male. The Chicana has the difficult task of gaining for herself more flexibility in carrying out a greater variety of activities that traditionally have been denied her in the Mexican American culture. In her efforts to do this she runs the risk of diluting and losing the many distinctive feminine qualities that make her so attractive to the male. The old concept of male-female roles in Chicano society is requiring

a painful examination and reevaluation of what is more important and what is less important in the functional roles between man and woman.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES

While children are generally reared by parents, other relatives, especially those living in the same household (such as grandparents, uncles/aunts, etc.) are duly authorized to discipline, train, and care for the children. In reality anyone in a position of authority or older than the children may admonish and counsel them. In my own case, I can recall having been left in the charge of my grandmother and/or great aunt (since both of them lived with us) whenever both my parents had to work at the same hours or went out for a social engagement, which was to my recollection something very rare. Children are always involved in social/family gatherings. Babysitters--that is, persons unknown to the family--are never used. Children learn to interact socially from a very young age with older persons.

Older sibling relationships and responsibilities are established early in life. The general pattern which predominates is: the elder (be it a boy or girl) orders the younger and the men later in life order the women. An example of this would be one which occurred in my uncle's home. It was a family of eight children. The oldest was a girl who was responsible for delegating certain responsibilities and chores to the remaining seven. She would assist her mother in dressing the youngest and cleaning the house. The elder child is expected to set the example for the rest. A tremendous amount of responsibility is placed upon him or her at an early age. Oftentimes, the oldest sibling may be left in charge of babysitting the rest of his brothers and sisters, should both the parents have to attend either to personal matters or work responsibilities.

By the same token, however, children are taught to share, cooperate, and work together for the good of the family members. Boys are especially directed to look after and protect their sisters outside of the immediate home environment. The latter may be a brother's responsibility even when his sister is several years older. These patterns of behavior between male and female children are taught implicitly and explicitly from infancy. Because of this clear-cut status, which children learn according to age, gender, and family obligations, there tends to be less sibling rivalry than in Anglo families.

The teaching of courteous behavior and good manners is integral to child rearing. Perhaps the worst insult parents could receive regarding one of their children is to be told that "Your child is malcriado." This literally

means "Your child is ill-bred/ lacks proper upbringing." In traditional-oriented homes children are taught to keep their eyes downcast rather than looking at an elder "straight in the eye" when being chastised. The latter would be a sign of disrespect, and inappropriate behavior at that particular moment. The use of certain responses when addressing elders is still taught in more traditional homes. One in particular which I still use today when responding to someone's call is the term "Mande usted." This means "Command me." As far as I have been able to observe, this particular training pattern is only present in Mexican and Chicano households. Children who use this response are therefore readily identifiable as persons of Mexican descent; it is a hallmark of Mexican-Chicano courteousness. Children who learn these appropriate behaviors are spoken of as "bien educado"--well educated. Notice that "well educated" has nothing to do with book learning per se. It refers to a person who is well behaved. One of the most frequent conflicts which exists between values that a Chicano child learns in the home and those he is taught at school is that sense of discontinuity between the Mexicano attitude towards "bien educado" and the majority culture's understanding of "well educated". When Mexican or Chicano parents complain that their children are not being well educated it may be a reference to the fact that the children are not being taught courteous behavior and/or good manners at school. This oftentimes is greatly disheartening to the parents, since they see a disparity between home and school. "Bien educado" is as much a part of being a disciplined individual as is subject matter learning. When children no longer observe "respeto"--respect--then a decline of family and individual integrity may ensue.

OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The principal institution which exists for getting news out to the family/community and for passing messages is your favorite aunt. This is not a joke. Within a few days of having confided information to her, everyone and his cousin will have been relayed the information. On a more impersonal basis, you have the very popular Spanish language radio, which is utilized as a social exchange system. Everything from locating long lost relatives to selling used merchandise is broadcast over radio programs. Interviews with representatives from varying social assistance agencies disseminate information to the local community via radio broadcasting. The national Spanish language network (SIN), which has an enormous viewership, also utilizes prime-time television spots to inform the public about a diversity of issues: legal counseling, medical services, dental repairs, immigration problems, family abuse concerns, community celebrations, local dances, etc.

Regarding social opportunities for meeting as groups, I believe there are more now than there have ever been. With an ever growing awareness of social and political issues, the Hispanic community in general has a greater opportunity for self expression. LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) has been active for over fifty years in this regard. Centers for the study of Chicano culture are becoming more widespread. A leader in this regard is the Mexican-American Cultural Center (MACC) in San Antonio, Texas. Many of these institutions such as MACC are church sponsored and run. At the local grassroots level there are special interest advocacy groups such as Chicanos por La Causa, meeting the social needs of Chicanos in the Phoenix area; Mujer, fostering the advancement of Hispanic women in the workplace; Association of Chicanos in Higher Education (ACCHE), an Arizona organization for the defense of Chicanos in the field of higher education; the newly founded Hispanic Woman's Education Association; etc., etc. The list is endless.

As far as a chief socializing agency which still greatly influences the socialization of Mexicanos/Chicanos/Latinos, there is the Church: whether it be Catholic, Mormon or Protestant-Evangelical. The church offers Latinos a place to gather not only for worship but for socializing. Baptisms, weddings, funerals all, of course, revolve around an institutionalized religion. In the majority, Hispanics are still nominally Catholic, but Mormons and Evangelical Protestants have made overwhelming inroads in the Hispanic sector.

SOCIAL NORMS

Regarding morality and codes of behavior, it is intrinsically the mother who establishes the rules for right and wrong. The mother is the transmitter of cultural norms and values. That the mother may be highly influenced by institutional norms such as Church precepts, etc., is highly probable, but in her household, the mother determines the rules.

The general understanding of "medicine" as it is related to disability/ handicap is one of consenting with the scientific approach.

The concept of time among Chicanos, especially those still highly influenced from their Mexican past, involves rules that must be defined. On a daily basis, punctuality seems unimportant, since nothing enjoyable or important now is worth truncating for the sake of a future appointment: arriving an hour or more late for a dinner party does not merit an apology; to the contrary, it is arriving on time that is considered rude. Logic does not apply: one may leave something off for another time simply because "me dieron las ganas"--I felt like it. The "manana" syndrome,

which has been grossly misinterpreted and has given rise to many stereotypes of the Mexican as indolent or lazy, could not be further from the truth. "Manana"--leaving things off for tomorrow--is not a symptom of chronic inefficiency or laziness, but rather evidence of an entirely different philosophy of time. If the past is safe, the present can be improvised and the future will look after itself. Since the future may be viewed with "fatalismo," the idea of making long range plans seems unnatural. This is especially true among Chicanos/Mexicanos of lower socio-economic status. The mentality of "Asi lo quiso Dios"--"God wished it thus"--is still a very deep-rooted concept.

THE PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Hispanics in general foster a deep sense of individualism. This affirmation of "YO" is maximized in the language by such sayings as "Soy yo; Lo digo yo": "It is I; It is I who say this." Perhaps the one line from the greatest work of Hispanic literature that echoes this reaffirmation of the person is that of Don Quixote himself, who shouts out the worth of his individualness by proclaiming "Yo se quien soy, y valgo por cien"--"I know who I am, and I am worth a hundred others."

The interrelatedness of disability in the culture is one of resignation. Parents don't feel ashamed because of a child's handicap/disability. The latter is seen rather as a lack of adaptive behavior. If a child--whether "disabled" or not--can behave/adjust to social norms, then there really is no problem. Parents tend to downplay the academic aspect of a child's education under these circumstances, and view maladaptive behavior as a more serious problem. No parent wishes to be publicly humiliated by the disruptive, antisocial behavior of his or her child. Parents of disabled children have a greater problem with mild disability such as poor vision, slight deafness,or speech impediment when it is diagnosed by the school, since they don't see this type of impediment as a problem in the home environment. Chicano parents are enthusiastic in developing any type of skills which may help their disabled child. The focus in the home is one of offering options, focusing on something in which that child will take an interest.

In studies which have been undertaken in Chicano communities, it has been found that there exists a disproportionately high number of parents/ families which seek help from social and/or professional agencies. These are families with handicapped children. Chicano parents place a greater sense of trust in the medical community, clinics and medical analyses than they do in categorical analyses done by school personnel. These are more often than not held in distrust by parents, especially when the children

are labeled as LD or EMH. Skills are a source of status, but even more so is the image of success which is more important than any concrete achievement.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PARENT TRAINING/SUPPORT

The key person to approach when dealing with school-related issues is the mother. Oftentimes the older sibling may be used to relay messages or can be used to assist in instructing a disabled sibling. Though the home may be an appropriate place to meet with the parents, a parent conference approach will serve the same purpose at the school site--the latter, of course, lacking the intimacy and social interplay of the home environment. Perhaps the greatest service that could be rendered to parents would be to minimize the overwhelming school educationese jargon which they encounter both in written documents and oral interchange with other school personnel.

THE CHAMORRO FAMILY

Fidela F. Limtiaco

"Maneluhu yan Manainahu...guahu si Fidelan Thomas Limtiaco taotao Yigo gi islan Guam.

My brothers, sisters, and elders...I am Fidela, wife of Thomas Limtiaco from the island of Guam."

This traditional Chamorro greeting illustrates a little of the cultural outlook that continues to exist on Guam today. Families, friends, even strangers are referred to as brothers and sisters. Respect for one's elders is just as integral a part of present day Chamorro society under American influence as it was in pre-war Guam under Spanish influence.

In order for you to get a clearer picture of Chamorro society, allow me to briefly review our intriguing past as it influences the Chamorro family today.

Nestled in the middle of the tropical Pacific, Guam lies approximately 1,500 miles east of the Philippine Islands and 5,428 miles west of San Francisco. Early Spanish explorers who arrived after Ferdinand Magellan's initial visit in 1521 found a group of islanders who, although kind, laughter-loving and gay, possessed long memories for avenging wrongs inflicted on them, no matter how slight or long past. These qualities seem to have remained with the Chamorro of today who are inevitably described by newcomers as extremely hospitable yet very adept at becoming passive resisters. For the ensuing three hundred years after Magellan's discovery, Guam and her people underwent a drastic change that permeated all areas of daily life. The Chamorro Wars resulted in the demise of a vast majority of Chamorro males, and as Spanish soldiers settled into the existing community they spread their influence further by intermarrying with Chamorro women. The main vehicles for change became 1) the language, which began to incorporate Spanish words into daily usage, and 2) the intermarriages, which created new strains of Chamorro offspring.

In 1898, as a direct consequence of the Spanish-American War, the island of Guam was ceded to the United States, signalling yet another era of change for the Chamorro people. This new period fell under the auspices of the United States Naval Government, which established an array of governors--naval officers whose mission, first and foremost, was to

protect the interests of the United States Government, often to the detriment of the Chamorro people.

Nineteen forty-one brought with it three years of extreme suffering on the part of Chamorros forced to endure the humiliation of their island being invaded and conquered by Japanese forces. With threats of physical punishment (and in extreme cases death) ever-present, islanders drew strength from their deep-rooted religious faith passed on by Spanish missionaries, and their strong sense of family unity. This brief but painful interlude lasted until American forces liberated the Chamorros in July 1944.

The subsequent years have proved tranquil when compared with the experiences of the Spanish, Naval Government and Japanese eras, yet all have combined to instill in present-day Chamorros a sense of pride in their ability to endure major changes and an appreciation for what they, as a people, have evolved into. It is interesting to note that all these phases of a people's history have taken place on a tiny mass of land merely 30 miles long and 8-12 miles wide. With this historical background, the family emerges as the focal point of the Chamorro culture, with the Chamorro woman as the foundation of the Chamorro family.

The Chamorro family is both matriarchal and extended. Every family has a mayidoma or matriarch, whose wisdom and guidance are sought and accepted unquestioningly. She presides over major family functions which reflect the cycle of life--weddings, christenings and funerals. The Chamorro woman is expected to keep the family together, feed and care for the children, and be a good wife. A young bride is often told that it is the woman who holds the key to a successful marriage--that a wayward husband always comes home to a devoted wife and mother.

The Chamorro woman rules with an iron fist softened by a loving heart, and takes great pains to ensure that the husband upholds his role as head of the household. An interesting phenomenon occurs when one tries to draw a picture of the Chamorro woman. No distinct image emerges, for the Chamorro woman chooses to be faceless.

The Chamorro kinship system is determined by a cultural trait wherein one's surname is usually followed by a better known clan name. The clan name is often the result of a quirk or a distinguishing feature of a family member. (Examples: Fejarang - familian Tagalu; Rosario - familian Siboyas.)

Individual identity is not discouraged, but rather becomes an integral part of the individual's "sense of familia." Individualism, integrity, personality are but secondary determinants of who you are--you are who your family is!!

My identity as Fidela, woman, Chamorro, educator and so forth are secondary characteristics of me as a person. Earlier, I had introduced myself in my native language as Fidelan Thomas Limtiaco--I am Fidela, wife of Thomas, mother of Genny and Sherry, mother-in-law to Jose, daughter of Rufina and Jose, niece of Pedro and Ana, and so on.

Position and social standing are determined more by the family than by wealth or material holdings, although some distinguished families have wealth usually in the form of land. The family name enhances one's employment position even more than a good education. If you are from a distinguished family with a formal education, your community standing has been determined for life.

In the Chamorro culture, disability is viewed as the "will of God" and a disabled person is treated with benign acceptance and compassion. During my parents' era, a handicapped child born into a family was viewed as a gift from God but definitely a "cross to bear." These rules of thumb determined how well the child was accepted into the family and the quality of care he/she received. This attitude prevailed throughout the child's life and was reinforced by the extended family members, close friends, the clergy and the community at large. Usually midwives delivered the babies in the homes. If the child looked different everyone would "hush" about it, because it meant someone in the family had done a bad deed, as the birth of a handicapped child is taken as a punishment from God. Parents, especially the mother, were counseled to bear their burden because "it is God who gives and takes in this life."

The support network was somewhat limited to the extended family and the attending physician whose hopeless advice was often to take the child home and provide him/her with heavy doses of love and care because there was nothing else that could be done. While not totally ignoring this concept of "the will of God," parents often followed the advice of well-meaning relatives and sought cures and answers from the local "suruhanus" or folk doctors.

Legendary causes of various handicapping conditions ranged from the stroking of the head of a pet turtle (said to be the cause of microcephaly), to the butchering of a pig by an expectant father (said to cause epilepsy--the jerking motions of a dying pig being similar to a

grand mal seizure). Also, if a pregnant woman was to be outside the house during an eclipse of the moon, it was believed that the child would be born with cleft palate, or harelip.

Remedies for various illnesses consisted of a potpourri of items such as teas brewed from herbs and roots, cockroach droppings, spider webs, burnt feathers and palm, followed by massages with a mixture of fresh coconut oil and rock salt. As can be expected, some of these treatments provided temporary cures, while the failures were attributed to a force beyond man's scope.

The physician's attitude and counsel were of utmost importance in the care of the handicapped child. His word was the gospel truth; and who were the parents to question his advice? Some parents took their doctor's word so literally that the child was taken home and sheltered to the extent that even distant relatives and friends never knew a handicapped child lived in the home.

In my generation, the family and primary physician continued to be major influences in the acceptance and treatment of the handicapped child. But a growing need for clearer answers and assistance outside the family prompted the establishment of a limited number of services for the handicapped. Unfortunately, bureaucratic ineptitude, red tape and the patronizing attitude of administrators proved discouraging so that only those parents in desperate need of medical assistance suffered the indignity of lenghty interviews and the welfare labeling. There were no other support groups outside of the family and church. My generation continued to use the services of traditional folk doctors while at the same time seeking additional help from conventional medical practitioners.

Public Law 94-142 proved to be the catalyst for change in today's generation of parents. This landmark piece of legislation has created an awareness that is unprecedented in generations past. Today the parents of a handicapped child seldom rely on the services of folk doctors. Parents still seek professional advice, although this same advice is now met with more probing questions and a demand that medical opinion be explained in layman's terminology. Additionally, a multitude of services have sprouted up as a consequence of young parents becoming better aware of their rights and assuming new roles as advocates for their children.

Throughout this talk I have repeatedly mentioned the role of the extended family, but have not introduced the members to you. A newcomer to Guam is often bewildered by the number of "cousins" a Chamorro native has. Everyone seems to be related on Guam. The extended family consists of

great-grandparents, grandparents, parents, children, first, second, third, fourth and fifth cousins on both sides. Even cousins-in-law are included. Godparents and close friends are accepted into the fold and fondly referred to as "aunts, uncles or cousins." So close is the Chamorro family that a cultural practice known as "Poksai" child-rearing has evolved and continues to this day. This concept of "Poksai" can be defined as the sharing of childrearing practices among family members so that it is fairly common for a child to be reared outside his/her nuclear family. The primary caretaker is usually a grandmother or a spinster aunt or cousin. Although a childless aunt or cousin is often given a niece or nephew to raise as their own, the consanguineous bond between that child and his/her siblings continues with minimal negative effects. In the event of the death of a natural parent, adult family members traditionally assume the responsibility of caring for the children. In this manner, families with handicapped children share the burden of raising them.

To the Chamorro parent, children are always viewed as children regardless of age or marital status. It is not uncommon for single adult children, who continue living with parents in the same household, to seek parental permission for such ordinary occasions as going to the movies, shopping, swimming, etc. This is construed as showing deep respect for one's elders, even though one may already be in his 20's or 30's. The determinant for one's passage into adulthood seems more directly related to marital status than to age. Upon a child's marriage, parents relinquish direct authority and control to the new spouse, although their advice and counsel still continue to be sought by their married children.

In the case of handicapped/disabled children, since they are traditionally viewed as "holy innocents" whose prospects for marriage are often very slim, the parental attitude tends to be one of protectiveness--thus hampering the concept of the handicapped child becoming totally independent. Siblings are expected to assume the parental role after the parent's death.

For the Chamorro, social norms are determined basically by familial prominence and how closely one's family adheres to religious beliefs. The negative impact of one's actions or misdeeds is weighed against how such acts will affect the family/clan name. The more prominent the family, the greater the adherence to social dictates and norms. Above all else, one's family name must be protected.

The concept of time is of little consequence to the Chamorros--much to the frustration of newcomers to the island. "Guam time" is a phrase used to excuse lateness, accompanied by frustrated laughter. "Guam time" may run

anywhere from one half hour to several days. Chamorros are so famous for putting off necessary tasks until tomorrow or the very last possible minute, that one wonders how things are ever accomplished. For some inexplicable reason, work is completed despite numerous procrastinations. New residents either quickly adapt to this cultural quirk or live in constant agitation at the helplessness of trying to adhere to time.

In summary, I have attemped to provide you with a capsulized view of that entity called the Chamorro. The important point to bear in mind is the great significance placed on the family as the center of one's culture If given a choice, most Chamorros would consider a family fiesta more important than individual leisure activities, despite all the preparation and hard work that a Chamorro fiesta entails. For it is during these fiestas that one is afforded the opportunity to exchange family news, to give and receive counsel or advice, and to address issues of significance to family members.

I hope that by sharing my Chamorro culture, I have assisted you in gaining a new perspective of one group of people that make up the American family.

May I leave you with this one thought--in dealing with a Chamorro you do not deal only with an individual, but the whole familia system. Programs and services, no matter how crucial and innovative, will be more effective if implemented within the concept of how the Chamorro views himself and his family.

Si Yuus Maase pot y attencion miyu.

THE SAMOAN FAMILY

Tele'a Falealii

AMERICAN SAMOA ISLANDS

American Samoa is an unincorporated territory of the United States, located approximately 2300 miles southeast of Hawaii and nearly 600 miles northeast of Australia and New Zealand. American Samoa is comprised of seven islands. There are five volcanic islands (Tutuila, Aunu'u, and the Manu'a group of Ta'u, Ofu and Olosega) and two coral islands (Swains Island and the uninhabited Rose Island).

The island of Tutuila is of irregular shape, about 18 miles long and 6 miles wide at its widest point. It is a rugged island with four high peaks; Mt. Matafao rises to an elevation of over 2000 feet. A mountain range extends nearly the whole length of the island of Tutuila with indentations of deep valleys. Except at the foot of the mountains along the coast and a broad fertile plain in the southwestern part of the main island, there is very little level land. Pago Pago Bay, which once boasted the best harbor in the South Seas, has an entrance to the south and nearly cuts the island in two.

The climate of the islands is tropical. From March to October, the annual revolution of the earth around the sun places the islands in the path of the cooler southeast tradewinds. The same orbital movement places the islands in the hurricane zone from about November to March. The average yearly rainfall is 193.5 inches. The temperature ranges from 70 degrees to 90 degrees Farenheit. It is highest during the summer months (December to February) and coolest in the winter months (June to August). The relative humidity is always high, especially during the wet season.

There are about 35,000 people living in American Samoa. Ninety-five percent of this total population is either Samoan or part Samoan, while the remaining five percent is represented by Americans, Orientals and other Pacific islanders.

The Samoan people are Polynesians, and were reported by John Williams, the pioneer missionary, as "very lively, jocose, kind people" (Freeman, 1983). Generally, the Samoan people have been referred to as "wonderfully hospitable and generous, and in their devotion to the ethics of Christianity, they can display great magnaminity..." (Freeman, p. 278).

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The main unit of the traditional Samoan social, economic, cultural and educational system is the family ("aiga").

The traditional Samoan household (aiga) extends beyond the nuclear family of parents and children. In the Samoan culture, there are several matais, or chiefs, in each lineage. The household "matai (sa'o)" is the senior titleholder. Ideally, the household matai (sa'o), his untitled brothers, their wives and children, his married sisters and their families, his mother and father, his sons, their wives and children and unmarried and widowed daughters live together. While freedom of movement between households is allowed, there is a preference for the patrilocal residence: the man lives with his father's family and the woman moves to her husband's home. Members of these extended families can move at will to live in other households where they have relatives. However, in any given household,the residents are under the authority ("pule") of the household matai (sa'o). Each household is responsible for its economic and social needs; it also is responsible for producing goods for village use and maintaining village property.

Theoretically, an individual belongs to many households (aiga), and in any one household there may be a dozen or more households represented. A Samoan lives a double life: one life is defined by his position in the village and household; the other life is defined by the multiplicity and inalienability of his kinship ties. Kinship ties are all-important, because "a man's chance for social status, his property, his powers of manipulating any claims to rank or property, his choice of a wife, his choice of friends, his traditional education, and his god depend upon his claim on the descent group of his father and mother respectively."

Within the aiga, inheritance rights are recognized according to two descent lines: the male line ("tamatane") and female line ("tama-fafine"). The household consists primarily of members descended through the male line; however, members descended through the female line are scattered in households where women have moved after marriage. Traditionally, a man will inherit rights in land and titles through the male line; through the female he will have veto power over decisions concerning land alienation and the awarding of titles within another family. Today, however, there is a tendency for the male and female lines to have equal inheritance rights to land and titles (Leibowitz, 1980).

The matai (sa'o) represents the family in the village council ("fono"), and presides over matters concerning the welfare of the family. The matai administers the household and the use of family lands and titles. In addition to managing the use of food and material products within his household, the matai supervises the collection of goods produced by his household which are presented to the village for exchange. The traditional Samoan economic system accords prestige ("mamalu") and authority ("pule") to the generous distribution of wealth acquired through communal effort.

Reciprocal exchange of wealth (food, mats, fine mats, money, etc.) at all levels of society is the "HEART" of the Samoan culture. Abundance nourishes the Samoan status system, and in that sense, it is critical for the Samoan social stability. Samoans with prestigious titles are expected to contribute greater amounts of goods on ceremonial occasions, and to contribute more when various other communal demands are required. Thus, in Samoa, wealth is a dynamic fluid, rapidly circulating and rapidly dissipating, keeping the social system in a constant state of flux. Ceremonial visits ("malaga") serve not only as important social and political functions, but as significant economic functions as well. Although a family may become temporarily poor, this economic state is soon amended following a ceremonial visit and a subsequent distribution of food and goods. It has often been tacitly said that a Samoan deposits his wealth with his family. No one lives below a comfortable subsistence level; all have sufficient food, clothing and shelter. The large family takes care of temporary disasters befalling any of its members. The old, the imbecile, the blind, the sick are easily provided for. Funerals, marriages and ceremonial visits within the aiga are matters of equal concern to all members of the extended family.

Every Samoan village is governed by the council of matais known as the "Fono" (Council of Chiefs). The life of the village (consisting of several aigas) depends upon the decisions of the Fono. It has jurisdiction over what is to be done, how it is to be done, and by whom it is to be done. In social matters, it validates and regulates status, supervises the group education and group activities of boys and girls, provides for food and conducts all village ceremonial activities--marriages, funerals, etc.

THE PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

There is only one great sin which Samoans recognize; a sin which can be committed by the merest babe or the oldest matai; a sin for which the individual is held strictly accountable, for which he may be chastised to

his soul's good. This great sin is precocity. The attitude is spoken of as "fia sili" (wishing to be higher than one should).

To go faster than one's age mates or one's fellows of equal rank is unforgivable. So not only are individuals conceived of as having capacities fixed at birth and responsive neither to social pressure nor to the dictates of their own ambitions, but the speed with which these inherent capacities may be permitted to manifest themselves is fixed. All haste is unseemly, unpleasant, and abominable whether in the young boy who marries too early or the low Talking Chief who tries to shoulder himself forward in the Fono. A man should reach his full stature slowly, with due deliberation and caution, pausing on the way to master all the implications of each step--this is the course of the admirable.

The Samoan culture could be characterized as follows: first, "the culture provides no conditions for breaking away from the traditional pattern. There is a great lack of stimulation which might produce change, and pressure brought to bear when any small tendency to change appears" (Johnson, 1963:p.42). Second, "the Samoan culture tends to reject discontinuities" (Johnson, p.43). Any attempt at change made by someone outside the culture typically fails. Very slight changes may be incorporated into the culture, but anything extreme is not assimilated. As a result, the culture has changed relatively little in the past few centuries. The common slogan is "Faa-Samoa" (the Samoan way) or "Samoa mo Samoa" (Samoa for the Samoans).

THE TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Prior to the arrival of the first missionaries (white Westerners) who first visited the islands on August 4, 1830, there were no schools, no textbooks, and no professional teachers in Samoa. Young people acquired necessary skills by working alongside their parents--planting taro, cooking, fishing, and hewing canoes from logs with stone adzes. The aiga (family) was the center of all "education." The aiga needed "educated" laborers and it influenced what the people or consumer desired from the local "economy" (Falealii, 1976).

Children learned social customs, the citizen's duties, and consumer skills by imitating their elders and through constant instruction from older sisters and brothers who were charged with supervising the young. The complexities of Samoan genealogy and the chieftain system were learned from the lengthy recitations of Talking Chiefs ("Tulafale") on ceremonial

occasions. To a marked extent, this informal community education is still the most important source of learning about vocational citizenship, social and consumer roles for the bulk of Samoan society.

The social development of the Samoan child is accomplished through the grading of all household activities in terms of relative strength and skills; children are useful members of the household by the time they are six or so (Mead, 1973:p.305-306). The training of the child up to about the age of six is the responsibility of all little girls in the household, who are more interested in keeping peace than in forming the characters of their small charges.

Innovations in the Samoan social structure are possible as long as the social innovator runs against no established rules of caste, and no jealously guarded body of tradition. In the social organization the individual is given the freest hand and meets with the greatest rewards. But the social structure offers too slight a challenge, and it is too complacent with the innovating hand. So it has remained much the same, generation after generation.

Education for the young Samoan takes place in real life situations and might be described loosely as learning on the job. Apart from actual participation in adult activities, children also learn through games and play activities which are usually patterned on the institutional activities of adults to a great extent. This participation in adult activities provides young Samoans the opportunity to acquire at a very early age the adult outlook, values, and stamina needed for the performance of institutional responsibilities.

Hence, the traditional education system places heavy emphasis on cooperation and on social conformity. Everything is looked at in terms of the social pattern. It provides no room for individualism, and the reference is never to individual experience or individual taste but always to the pattern. Precocity is the greatest of social sins and the traditional educational system coddles the laggard and punishes the precocious (Faleali, p.51).

CHILD REARING

In Samoa, an infant during its first year of life becomes behaviorally attached to its caretaker, whoever he or she may be. Biological families of parents and their offspring do in fact exist as distinct units within the extended families into which Samoan society is organized; it is customary for a cohabiting couple to have their own living quarters within

the cluster of houses belonging to an extended family. In Samoa, there is a well-developed system of child-minding in which infants are handed over for extended periods to the care of an older girl, usually a sister or a cousin. This relationship results in the formation of a secondary bond of major significance. This "tei" relationship does not, however, supplant the attachment of a child to its genetic or adoptive mother. Freeman discovered in his study of Samoan infants during their first two years of life that the behavioral attachment of an infant to its mother antedates the formation of a secondary bond to its "tei" or to any other relative. It is a common practice in Samoa to separate an infant from its mother to facilitate weaning. Weaning is usually a traumatic experience to both mother and infant. The primary bond between mother and child is very much a part of the biology of Samoans, as it is of all humans. Wilkes noted during his visit to the islands in 1939 that "Samoan parents are extremely fond of their offspring," and that it was also true that from infancy onward Samoan children are subjected to quite stringent discipline. Holmes (1958), during his observations in Manu'a in the 1950's, wrote that the early training of children was often accompanied by severe punishment. Gerber (1975) reported that Samoans believe in the unique efficacy of pain as a means of instruction, and that beatings are necessary to ensure that children will be good, or at least stay out of trouble. These beliefs which are embedded in the traditional Samoan way have been powerfully reinforced by the admonitions of the biblical King Solomon's wisdom that "a father who spares the rod hates his son" and that if a parent will only "train up a child in the way he should go," then "even in old age he will not depart from it." These admonitions the Samoans have long taken to heart, and when asked why they punish children they answer that this is the best way to teach them what they must not do. The Samoans scold and punish their disobedient children not only in anger but in the pious belief that they are doing right.

The peculiar Samoan way of administering punishment to their children is almost always physical and severe. Despite the severity of the punishment, the child is not permitted to show emotion. Thus, if a child persists in crying aloud the parent continues to punish him, always shouting "UMA! UMA!" ("Have done! Have done!"). Not until the child sits stock still with his legs crossed and head bowed, and suppresses his emotions by not overtly crying, does his punishment cease. This treatment, known among Samoans as "a'oa'i," is meted out to young children of both sexes from as young as three or four years of age.

Through this a'oa'i, the Samoan children are taught early to accept without question the dictates of those in authority. This method of dealing with the misbehaving young is used by all those in authority,

however marginal; one frequently observes an older brother disciplining his younger sibling in exactly this way.

Occasionally, a younger child is punished so severely that a lasting injury is inflicted. There have also been reported cases of child death due to severe beatings (Freeman, p.209).

The Samoan social organization is markedly authoritarian and depends directly on a system of severe discipline that is administered on children from an early age. By the time this discipline begins to be imposed, the great majority of children are already bonded to their mothers. This means that she comes to be feared and hated as well as loved and longed for, a combination of emotions that, in addition to producing ambivalence, significantly intensifies the feelings of an infant for the individual to whom it is bonded. The initial reaction of an infant to the onset of a maternal punishment is usually one of anger; although quite a few mothers get slapped, the anger is soon beaten out of a child, who is coerced into submitting to discipline out of fear of even heavier continued punishment.

The fact that children submit to discipline does not mean that they cease to feel intense resentment toward those who punish them. Children who have especially punishing mothers may come to harbor death wishes against them (Freeman, p.210).

SOCIAL NORMS

The Samoan character is very much the product of the way in which discipline is imposed upon young children. The child learns early to comply overtly with parental and chiefly dictates while concealing his or her true feelings and intentions. As a result, Samoans, whatever may be their real feelings about a social situation, soon become adept at assuming an outward demeanor pleasing to those in authority. By the time they are adults, males in particular have acquired the ability to hide their true feelings behind an impregnable mask of controlled aloofness. In both men and women this aloofness is commonly joined with an elaborate politeness and engaging affability.

It is usual, especially in demanding social situations, for Samoans to display an affable demeanor which is in reality a defensive cover for their true feelings; to be, as Samoans say, "smooth on top but whirling beneath."

As in the case of a child who had been forced to suppress his emotions to escape further punishment, there are often, and particularly among

adolescents and young adults, feelings of deep resentment and anger against those in authority. When these feelings pervade the mood of an individual he or she is said to be "musu," a term which Williams recorded as early as 1832, and which Pratt notes has no exact equivalent in English. According to Stevenson, the word "musu" means "literally cross, but always in the sense of stubbornness and resistance." It is used by the Samoans to refer to any unwillingness to comply with the wishes or dictates of others, and especially of those in authority. It is common for a mood of stubborn unwillingness to dominate an individual's behavior such that he becomes completely intractable, will do little or no work, will deliberately misunderstand instructions, will go about with a look of sulky tragedy on his face and will reply to no questions. Individuals growing up in this stringent Samoan system are regularly subjected to the dictates of the disobedient and refractory. On occasion the demands of this stringent system generate such internal resentment and stress that an individual can take no more and becomes intractable or musu, sullenly refusing all command and admonitions. A person in this state is very near the breaking point, and if harried further may become violent or even commit suicide; therefore, when an individual does become seriously musu he is usually left to his own devices until his dangerous mood has subsided. For most Samoans, there is no escape from the insistent demands of their society. One of the fundamental principles of the Samoan society is that he/she who disobeys the instructions of those in authority should be duly punished. The custom of inflicting punishment to maintain social order is therefore one of the basic characteristics of the Samoan ethos. Punishment has become culturally established as the sovereign way of dealing with all those, including young children, who will not heed the dictates of authority.

While the punishment of children in Samoa has the pious aim of correcting the young in the error of their ways, it is, nevertheless, imposed with such dominance as to produce in most Samoans a profound ambivalence toward those in authority: respect and love alternating with resentment and fear.

Because of this system of child rearing and the stringent demands that those in authority make upon the growing individual, Samoan character has two marked sides to it, with an outer affability and respectfulness masking an inner susceptibility to choler and violence.

Thomas Todd, after fifty years of Samoan experience, commented on how remarkable it was that those who were "pre-eminent for kindliness of disposition and hospitality" were also a "high-spirited, turbulent people."

IMPLICATIONS FOR PARENT TRAINING SUPPORT

In Samoa, as anywhere in the Pacific, a child with a handicap is integrated into village life and given tasks relative to his/her abilities. Life in an extended family requires each family member to assume a productive role. The contribution may not be limited to financial support--it may include a hand in cooking, fishing and farming. Students labeled as mildly or moderately handicapped during school hours return home to become contributing members of the family and fully integrated into the "mainstream" of village life. American culture places a very high premium on reading and writing (Brady and Anderson, 1981). Pacific Islanders, however, have placed a stronger emphasis on traditional, non-formal education that stresses specific village-based skills.

The process of developing IEPs involves a series of value-oriented activities such as: (a) considering a particular child as an individual for the purpose of developing an educational plan; (b) planning for the future educational program for that child by developing long term goals and objectives; (c) making decisions regarding those goals and objectives; and (d) documenting the outcome of the IEP process. However, this IEP process is based entirely on culture-specific and middle class values that are different than the values held by many of the Pacific Islanders, especially the Samoans.

For example, American culture values the individual, and supports those activities which would maximize the growth of the individual. The Americans value the concept of individual freedom, equality, and opportunity, and place a great deal of faith in the potential for individual development.

In Samoa, the extended family system operates on values and behaviors that are often quite different from values and behaviors in the mainland United States. Pacific Island cultures developed in a physical environment that by necessity valued the group more than the individual. Each individual is an integral part of the entire extended family. He has to play a cooperative and supportive role necessary for maintaining the group. Today, even with the dramatic social change that has taken place, Pacific cultures still place great value on non-individualistic, cooperative, non-competitive behavior. The individualistic approach to education of children does not have a strong value base in Pacific cultures.

Especially in Samoa, perhaps because of their proximity to and dependence on nature, the people have learned to focus on meeting present needs and expecting little change.

Parent training should become a medium through which cultural differences are understood and respected. Local school PTAs, church groups, youth organizations, village councils, and civic groups are excellent media for disseminating concepts and issues. In Samoa, parents and community leaders very often take the initiative to provide support and financial backing to Special Olympics, and other special education activities. There is very little difficulty in soliciting support for special education programs and activities.

NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES

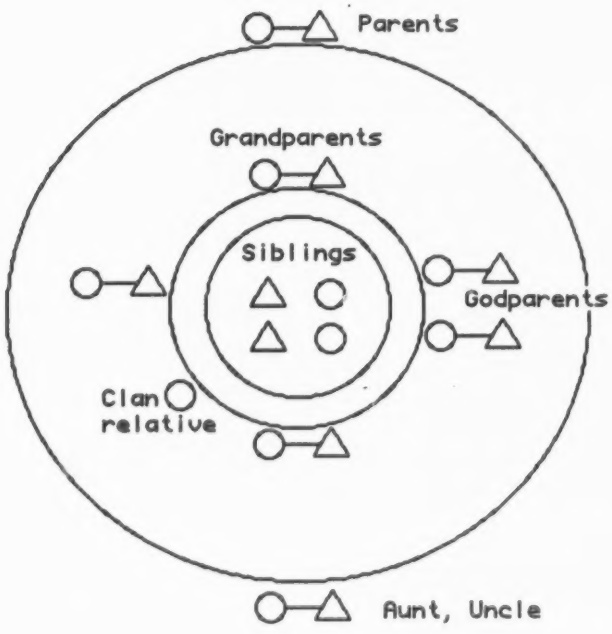
Terry Tafoya

FAMILY STRUCTURE

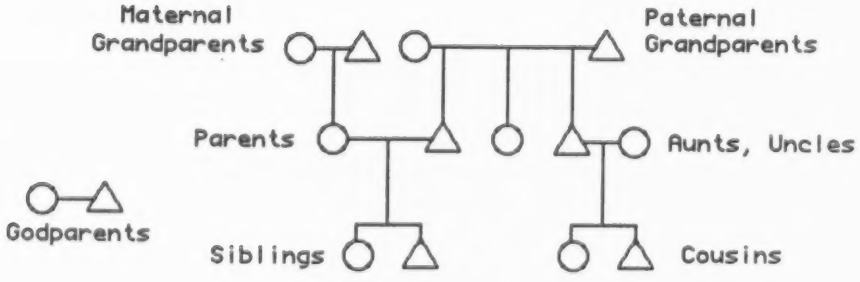
The tribal structure of Native American peoples is based on the extended family. Just so, the term "brother" or "sister" may refer to someone who in English would be called a first cousin, not in the sense of some polite address form, but in the true definition of relationship. Looking at the general Anglo-American genogram or family tree in comparison with a general Native American genogram might be useful to understand this. This general Native American model will also serve to illustrate certain aspects of child-rearing that will be discussed later in this paper. (See Figure 1, p. 68)

Currently, approximately 51% of the Native American population is living in urban areas, with the remainder of Natives living on or near reservations. The Relocation Programs of the federal government during the 1950s is primarily responsible for this distribution, resulting in an increasing number of what Dr. Carolyn Attneave has termed "immigrants in their own homeland"--American Indians who are now second or third generation, and who have had little or no contact with their extended family on reservations. Up until the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act in the late 1970s, nearly 25% of Native American children were being reared in non-Indian homes, due to what has since been recognized as outrageous "child-stealing" on the part of social workers and judges, and inappropriate interpretations of "child neglect." Add to this the influence of the Boarding Schools sponsored by the Federal Government for Native Education, which remove children from their homes to distant locations, thus removing role-modeling opportunity for parenting skills (in some cases for three generations), and you have a number of factors resulting in urban single parent families--usually young women, frequently in a relationship with a non-Native American partner, cut off from the extended family network. This young urban woman has often had no direct parenting skills training, and is operating in a role that would not be expected to be hers for another 20-30 years. More on this will be discussed in the child-rearing section. This new sub-culture of urban single-parent families is an important consideration in terms of service delivery.

Figure 1



Typical Native American Genogram



Typical Anglo-American Genogram

Native American tribes vary from strong matriarchies and patriarchies to bilineal groups. It is important to determine which direction a local community will take. In the Pacific Northwest, an effort at birth control was undermined when a well-meaning non-Indian worker provided birth control pills to all the women of a Canadian Indian migrant camp, without discussing the matter with the women's husbands, who threw the pills away. It should be noted that sometimes it is appropriate to address groups of the same gender, doing a double session or presentation, since in some tribes, men would not feel comfortable discussing matters in front of the women, or the women in front of the men. To do a presentation to a mixed audience will sometimes result in few questions and little feedback.

Definitions of family property are awkward, because the request for information of this type is based on a western view of ownership, which is different from the concept of tribal or clan ownership, extending the definition of "family." In some instances, an individual (male or female) may not actually "own" something, but may be "holding it in trust" for the tribe, clan, medicine society, family, etc. This whole issue of ownership is a touchy one, resulting in heated arguments. For example, when a museum wants to buy a sacred or heirloom object, who has the right to sell it? With the conflict of converging cultures, the issue of ownership is one that will continue to be debated and explored by Native communities. Among many tribes in the Southwest, newly married couples will move into the woman's family home or area, and control of the concrete family resources will be the responsibility of the woman, but not necessarily the wife . . . perhaps the mother-in-law, or the ruling elder. This can present a problem in service delivery, where efforts are made to contact and train young people who are indeed parents, but have little if any influence and power within the extended family home.

PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Traditionally, tribal identity was often of primary importance, with individual identity secondary, to the extent that in some Native American language there is no "first person singular," or "I". Thus, instead of being able to say "I'm going over there," one would say "someone is going over there." Among the Pueblo and Hopi Indians, for example, it has really only been within this century that pottery and other artworks are being signed by the individual artist, because before, the piece was representative of the community. This is obviously coming into increasing conflict with the greater acceptance of non-Native values stressing the individual. A good example would be the many culturally irrelevant curriculum materials that illustrate "Famous Indians," where developers try to identify great chiefs and others who have accomplished some degree

of success by Native or non-Native standards. To stand out and be an example of this might be considered by some an inappropriate aggrandizement of self, and subject to ridicule as well as honor. Western culture stresses the idea that there is some "hero" whose individual action made a difference. Tribally-minded people will not always structure history in this way.

Regarding disabilities, there is a variety of traditional responses. On one level, it was recognized by tribal people that, in a sense, we are all "disabled," and therefore, none of us are. In other words, each individual was seen as having some special talent and ability, or at least the potential to achieve in a certain area. Indeed, part of becoming an adult in many Native communities (refer to the child-rearing section of this paper) was discovering one's own spirit power, or song, in order to allow the individual to become all that one could be. These "guardian spirits" would often be associated with certain talents or occupations; e.g., a Beaver Power in the Northwest would be seen as granting the individual the ability to be a skilled woodworker. Because all sorts of talents are needed to serve a community or tribe, this diversity would be encouraged. Thus a "disability" in one area was balanced by the "ability" of another area. In the case of some disabilities that would be a disadvantage in terms of the Spirit Quest, alternative methods of achieving a "guardian spirit" existed.

In the case of some severe physical problems, these are rarely if ever reported in most of the relevant literature. Perhaps the extreme cases resulted in early infant mortality. With modern medical skills, children who would not have survived their early years grow up to become disabled adults requiring a new definition of role. In the case of the increasing urbanization of Native families and the weakening of the extended family system, the care or special needs of the disabled are no longer shared within the support network of a clan or family group, but become concentrated on the limited resource of an individual parent or nuclear family. Also, some conditions, such as hearing impairment, are common enough not to be necessarily classified as a major disability. The occurrence of otitis media is well documented. In northeast Washington State, for example, a survey of an Indian boarding school revealed over half of the students as having a hearing loss of 50% or greater. Unfortunately, with the Western culture's emphasis on the individual, the two instances I know of concerning deaf Native children resulted in their being removed from their homes, sent great distances to learn Amslan (American Sign Language), and then returned to a community where literally no one else, including parents, knew signing. Although Native American Sign Language bears a remarkable resemblance to Amslan (I would estimate

a 60% overlap), it was not developed to serve the needs of the deaf community, but to serve as an interpreting tool among tribal people who spoke hundreds of different languages. With the advent of English, Spanish, or French as a common language among tribes, the need for Sign Language has declined to such an extent that it is rarely used in a formal manner of communication, with the exception of the "ritual" signing of the Lord's Prayer to open a gathering.

In some instances, disabilities might be viewed in a traditional way as the result of improper behavior, not necessarily by the child or the parents, but by someone within the extended family. Interestingly enough, the category of disability would include twins among some tribes, who would be viewed as the result of incest (although among most Southwest tribes, twins are considered a blessing, in the tradition of the War Twins in the culture of so many of the Southwestern groups). Witchcraft might also be seen as a causal element for a disability.

The topic of social order is a complicated one. In some instances, there was an importance placed on clan or extended family. Among a Canadian tribe I worked with, one clan was responsible for making leadership decisions; another clan was responsible for keeping roadways clear (not necessarily doing it themselves, but seeing that it was done); another group acted as a Native equivalent of law enforcement officers. Even though on one level there had been a breakdown of the formal recognition of these areas of responsibilities, nonetheless, when problems arose, they would often stimulate mobilization of the old system, in terms of leadership or action. Many service providers remark that on some reservations, it's always the same family that "keeps things going." If this is understood within the context of families having different areas of responsibilities, this falls into place. In the same way, when a family that never traditionally performed in an area is encouraged by outside trainers and service providers to act in a new way, it may result in a community feeling of usurping or territorial invasion.

While skills are certainly a source of status on one level, the attitude one holds is also a primary determinant of status. To boast or inappropriately call attention to oneself will devalue one in the eyes of the community, regardless of one's ability. This can even result in rumors of witchcraft, since a "good" person works for the tribe, while witches work for themselves. Again, this is starting to change somewhat with the advent of Western culture's intrusion of such categories as "Elder of the Year," or "Parent of the Year," which are ambivalent recognitions of honor, and inappropriate competition, implying that some other parents or elders aren't "as good as . . .". Some educators have

remarked that this is a problem with Native American students who do not want to "show off" in class by giving answers to questions if not everyone knows the answer. Competition, incidentally, is quite prevalent in Native communities, regardless of stereotypes generated in the literature, but the competition is that of one team against another team, rather than individual achievement.

CHILD-REARING

As opposed to Western culture, where in America a parent "owns" a child until the child is legally adult (i.e., is responsible legally for the child's actions), most Native groups have the concept that one owns oneself . . . thus, even very young Native children often are asked their opinions and make important decisions in a way non-Indian children of their age would not be expected to. An emphasis is placed on being responsible for one's own actions and experiential learning. Just so, it would be preferable for a child to suffer a minor injury (e.g., touching a hot plate), rather than being directly instructed to not do something. This is in direct conflict with a school system where a child might elect to "skip," and be told by the parents "you make your own decision, but you're the one who has to deal with your principal and teacher, because we won't do it for you." This works very well in the traditional setting, but in the public school system, the school administration will take the attitude that the parents are irresponsible, and deal with them, rather than the child.

This sense of individual responsibility for one's actions is so deeply integral in most Native American communities, that it is very difficult to mobilize tribal governments to intervene in family or individual matters. In the case of substance abuse or spouse battering, many community people will feel that while they don't approve, it's the decision of the individual, even if the individual attempts suicide. This seeming paradox of the tribal personality that stresses community identity, while emphasizing individual responsibility for one's own action can be understood as a control mechanism of sorts . . . a person is indeed free to make his or her own decisions, but should determine how those decisions will impact the family or community. As mentioned previously, it might be the irresponsible act of one family member that profoundly affects another family member, who is innocent of wrong-doing. A prime example would be fetal alcohol syndrome.

As explained in the genealogical chart on page 68, traditionally, many tribes would not consider people to be fully functional adults until they were in their mid-fifties, or a grandparent. Rearing children requires so much skill and experience, younger people would not be considered ready

to do it, so child-rearing responsibilities effectively skipped generations, so that the young parent would actually "parent" his or her grandchildren. The idea was that younger people of an extended family should be wage-earners and providers, while the retired generation "parented." This is not to say that some nurturing skills were not expected, but the majority of responsibility would often fall outside of the biological parents. In the same way, the provision of discipline was rarely a parental responsibility, but obtained through grandparents, maternal uncles, "joking cousins," or sometimes, tribally instituted systems, such as the Whipman of the plateau tribes, or the Orge Katchinas in the Southwest. When I have asked elders in various tribes about this, they have two major responses: "We love our children so much that if we were to discipline them ourselves, we would hold back, and not punish them fairly. Someone who is a little more distant emotionally can do a more objective job (including clan relatives, who are not biologically members of a family)"; or "If we punished our children, they would not love us when we get old." (A more common response among Eskimos in Alaska . . . understandable from the perspective that traditionally one's children were one's "retirement pension.")

It would also be quite common among many if not all of the tribes to "foster" children, so that children might grow up in more than one home environment. Because parenting was seen as such a valued part of life, a childless couple or individual would often be sent a child to rear as their own. On a larger level, the tribe or clan would also have a sense of responsibility to provide for children, so no one would go hungry, or unsheltered. The relatively rare exception would be an example as in the Pacific Northwest coast, where twins were subjected to infanticide up until the 1930's, since they were considered to be the result of incest.

Adulthood is a difficult thing to define, since only the grandparents' generation would be considered "true" adults by traditional standards. Transitions from childhood were often determined by a combination of physical changes and individual attitude and accomplishment. For example, many tribes had (and have) special ceremonies for a girl who has her first period; a tribe also might take the evidence that a boy's nipples "turn out" as being a sign that he is ready for the next step. In the instance of some groups, a certain age might be the criterion for the first Initiation. All of these indicators focus on the transition from being a relatively passive observer of ceremonies and religious activity (although it must be understood from a Native perspective that one can never merely "watch"--a part of one's energy is given to what one watches) to being more directly involved. This is an ongoing process, with verbal and non-verbal feedback from the community. Ultimately, it may be the

individual who comes to self-awareness that he or she has achieved a certain level of maturity, and conducts him/herself accordingly. The community then provides feedback as to whether this is appropriate, or if the young person is "acting like an elder," rather than a younger person.

This is extremely important to consider as we send so many trained young people back to their home communities in the role of consultants or helping professionals who take an "elder" role, when their community may not view them in that status.

Initiation ceremonies might involve a vision quest, fasting, physical discomfort, survival skill training, isolation from one's family during the initiation period, formalized training in appropriate clan history, stories, dances, and songs, as well as rituals. A status change might be signified by an action, such as making a certain number of acceptable baskets, or killing one's first deer. These actions are often accompanied by a ceremonial giveaway to "introduce" the individual to the community in their new status, or even to allow the opportunity for the young person to receive a new Indian name.

Certainly this has an impact on a child with a disability that would preclude such a physically challenging undertaking--e.g., a diabetic child would not be expected to fast. However, modifications can be made in some of the initiations to accommodate individual need. A number of tribes have not maintained these various "rites of passage," and do not provide an opportunity for any child to experience them, regardless of ability. For those tribes that still do, the severely disabled child might not be able to meet all the criteria of adulthood.

SOCIAL NORMS

Traditionally elders would monitor the behavior of children (as well as adults), providing guidance often in the form of stories or "teaching legends," that would indirectly rather than directly address correcting one's behavior. Thus, rather than being told not to be greedy, a story would be told about what happened to Coyote when he was greedy. Rules were set up not so much as a determining factor for right or wrong, but how to behave appropriately. Right or Wrong classifications automatically remove context, and Native American cultures are, in Edward Hall's term, "high-context cultures." Thus Barre Toelken wrote of a Navajo hunter who explained he could not hunt deer to feed his pregnant wife because "it is not appropriate that I who am about to receive life should take life at

this time." In this sense, hunting is not a "bad" action. Emphasis is traditionally placed on maintaining a Spiritual, Mental, Emotional, and Physical harmony with Nature.

Thus illness is actually viewed as a "dis-order" by definition--one is out of harmony, so therefore one is sick. If one breaks one's leg, it might be set at a clinic, but require the services of a spiritual person, since one wouldn't have broken the leg if one weren't out of harmony. As previously mentioned, disability might be viewed as the result of someone's inappropriate behavior, or witchcraft.

The White influence of Christianity is strongly felt among many tribes, sometimes dividing family loyalties. For example, a member of the extended family converts to Christianity, dies, and some family members want to conduct a traditional Native funeral, while others want a strictly Christian ceremony. If the Christian side wins, then misfortune or accidents in the family might be interpreted as the unfinished business of the traditional ceremony.

Time is tied to the land, and seen as cyclical, rather than lineal. In the Lakota language, for example, the word for time is derived from the Native word "to strike," since when children attended boarding schools, clocks would literally "strike" the hour. The concept of arbitrary small divisions of time, such as measurement in hours or minutes, was never part of the Native tradition. On the other hand, many of the tribes, especially those with an agricultural foundation, were quite sophisticated at seasonal measurement.

While "Indian Time" is usually perceived by non-Indians as meaning "always late," in reality, it means "when the time is right." Thus, tourists become impatient and upset because they were told that a dance on a reservation would start at noon, and nothing happens until three p.m., not recognizing the need to meet all appropriate conditions. Schedules are thrown off due to funerals, illness, and other relevant responsibilities. Add to this the chaotic problems due to substance abuse in some families, and you discover how hard it is to schedule anything in a formal way. Rituals and ceremonies are timed to the Earth, not to a calendar.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

All sorts of opportunities exist for passing on information. Most effective is what is warmly known as the "moccasin telegraph," or the informal network that exists in any Native community. Messages are also shared through community stores or trading posts, schools, churches, jobs,

tribal administration, direct mail, posters in laudromats, etc. For those who can't read English, or their Native language, radio and CB or shortwave radio povides a frequently used medium. Some communities, especially in Alaska, also have brief "news moments" provided by Native broadcasters on television.

Some communities make a distinction between sacred and secular responsibilities, so that for some things, a Pueblo Governor would be contacted and asked to share information, rather than the Spiritual Leader of the village. It is important to make the determination of who are the most appropriate people in the community for certain items, and who would be appropriate for other items.

Senior Centers or programs exist for most communities, and would provide a regular opportunity for people to gather for meals. There are many athletic groups (basketball, softball) who would be resources, churches, Native religious organizations, etc. All these things exist, but each requires a personal contact and a need to go through someone who is an appropriate member of the social group or institution. Thus, one would not go through a ten year old Indian child to seek permission to speak before a Native group.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PARENT TRAINING/SUPPORT

If you train only the younger people, then you will interfere with the nurturing and care-giving pattern of many tribes, who expect grandparents to be primary "parents." To assume that disabled children can be "trained" to do certain tasks may interfere with a secondary world view of some of the family members as to what specifically such a child should be able to do. This does not mean it is not possible to convince or "re-educate" community members about the opportunities for disabled people, but it may mean more time and effort must be put into initial contacts to assure follow-through.

For younger, single-parent families, the whole topic of general parenting skills needs to be addressed, in addition to the specialized skills necessary to best serve the needs of the disabled. Ideally, some sort of validation should be made available in cooperation with tribes stating that such actions or interventions are appropriate. For people living primarily in an urban environment, it should be recognized that they are also "immigrants from the past." The cultural norms and attitudes they hold may have altered on their home reservations years ago, but they are unaware of this.

Also important are networking/support systems for follow-through. It is never enough to expect a short, intensive training session to be able to equip people with skills. For example, could a "buddy system" be developed of peer groups who went through the training together? This peer support group could be available to give encouragement to each other, if not technical support.

With an increasing number of Native people marrying non-Native spouses, there are bound to be some fundamental disagreements over discipline, parenting responsibilities, and especially attitudes about the disabled. This should be addressed.

Finally, as a Family Therapist, I cannot help but feel that any training should also involve the rest of the family, as the family defines itself (rather than some biological model). Siblings need to be able to openly talk about the disability of their affected brother or sister, and understand that there may be times they will be jealous or resentful of the extra attention the sibling receives. How to make the family a whole one, and therefore a healthy one, is an ultimate goal.

THE ATHABASCAN FAMILY

Mary Ambrose

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The Athabascan culture is of an extended-family nature. It is very open. For example, a child who is adopted will be told who their biological parents are as soon as the child reaches formative age.

In the past, it was not uncommon for children to be raised by their grandparents. On occasion a child was even given at birth to a grandparent or friend as a gift expressing one's feeling for another, as a deterrent to the process of aging, or as a replacement for the loss of a loved one.

Matriarchy lends itself well to the nature of our culture in that any offspring is identified by the mother's clan. For example, my mother is a Midziyk Ta Hutaana, therefore I am one also.

THE PLACE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Youth is the period of time in which individual identity is frowned upon, when it is wrong to brag of one's accomplishments. The time at which maturity is reached, and it becomes proper for a man/woman to begin teaching, is determined by many variables. For example, an uncle may begin teaching his brother's son "through story telling" at a somewhat early age if his brother has died suddenly. Similarly, the cultural view of "ego" is discouraged through youth, and one has to successfully pass each phase of the technology and profession of hunting in many complete cycles of food gathering before he becomes an accepted teacher/story teller..

Disability in our culture means that one is not able to fully function normally or is dependent on another to live. A community may be tolerant of disabled persons and take care of them. This is an example of the way in which individual differences are recognized and acknowledged. A behavioral problem that is not accepted of a "normal" person will be semi-accepted of a "not normal" person. Reprimanding is not as severe.

The social order is determined by one's skill. For example, individual people become known for their skill in preserving food, sewing, hunting,

the technique of setting a fish trap, etc. Skills are a source of status, and become an identity of an individual.

CHILD REARING

In the extended family a child can live with grandparents for a number of years and go back to biological parents or vice versa without any ill feeling. In that sense, the child belongs to his/her entire extended family.

Children are reared most often by biological parents unless there has been a death in the extended family or immediate family. In this instance, as was said earlier, a child can be given as a gift. In the case of a disabled person, the whole community may participate in the person's welfare. Disabled children contribute to the family by performing chores that require less skill, such as keeping a fire going.

Children are no longer children when: females encounter their first menstruation; males accomplish their first kill (an animal of food value). In this sense, there is a definable right of passage into adolescence. Traditionally, marriage was arranged at this time.

SOCIAL NORMS

Basically the pressure of society in a community determines morality. Rules for right and wrong are based on native beliefs, and reinforced by social pressure and ridicule. These rules are largely determined by elders, and more recently by the Church to some extent.

Traditionally, health and well-being have been promoted by verbal coaching and by plants and vegetation. By verbal coaching, I mean that an individual was verbally told not to give up on life. Vegetation such as high bush, currant plants and rose hips were used to cure illnesses. Pitch, the sap from the spruce tree, was used for drawing out infection. In some instances open wounds were sewn using the human hair to stitch, and then covered with pitch. Disability/handicap was looked upon as an irreversible health condition: a condition which was very seldom successfully treated and corrected by a medicine powered person.

Time is viewed seasonally in our culture. A normal day or week is compared to the food gathering success of the past year. For the most part, in the cycle of food gathering hourly schedules are not culturally important. With the exception of a nursing mother, this is found to be true for most Alaskan Interior natives.

OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Media did not serve a role in the past. However, with ANCSA (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act) in place today, native people are beginning to use this tool. Traditionally, Elders would designate a messenger if one's well-being was in jeopardy. For example, if a community was in danger of a flood, a messenger would be sent. Sometimes messages were left on trails or portages to indicate what direction someone was in.

Social opportunities for meeting in groups have in the past been used basically to reminisce--to talk of luck they'd had in hunting, for instance. Again, traditionally, the "food gathering cycle" acted as a major deterrent to group gatherings. Today groups meet to discuss ANCSA in an effort to retain their traditional lands.

In 1971 ANCSA was posted. Up to that time, elders made the decisions. They spoke and were in charge. When ANCSA was introduced the elders turned to the young people. Soon the young were in charge as spokespersons. Elders were not involved. That is a mistake that the native is suffering from today.

There is now a lot of stress in native communities--much more than there was in the past. A lot of it has to do with sudden change--untraditional changes that we are not equipped to handle.

Some notable facts:

11 languages among the Athabascans of interior Alaska

16% of state population is native

54% of adult native Alaskans do not have a high school diploma, but live a subsistence life-style.

December 18, 1971, ANCSA: regional, village, non-profit "1991" protect our land--traditional land

64% of all employment is based on or with ANCSA.

The above topics affect the way we operate "parent programs" by keeping them informed of the kinds of problems and changes that students face.

I suggest creating in-service days for native parents; I believe that if a non-aggressive, passive parent sees an aggressive native parent in one-on-one conversations with teachers, principals, etc., the passive parent will learn to be more confident. This can be used as a tool to open doors of interest in the child's education. Support groups that praise parents for positive reactions are necessary.

THE URBAN BLACK FAMILY

Patricia Mullings-Franco

The Black family in America has been stereotyped and misunderstood. Professional and popular literature has often focused on identifying weaknesses rather than those strengths which have provided the basis for survival in an alien and sometimes unfriendly society.

The urban Black community is more diverse than has been recognized. The origins are on the African continent. Active slave trading brought large numbers of Blacks to America. Other members of the community came through more recent migrations from the Caribbean and South and Central America.

CHARACTERISTICS AND STRENGTHS OF BLACK FAMILIES

There are strong kinship bonds among a variety of households. The Black extended family has been defined as a multigenerational, interdependent kinship system, which is welded together by a sense of obligation to relatives. Organized around a "base family household," the household is generally guided by a dominant family figure. The family network may extend across geographic boundaries to connect a number of family units. It has a built-in mutual aid system for the welfare of its members and maintenance of the family as a whole. A typical family network may involve five or more households.

There is a high level of flexibility in family roles. Relations between adult members of the family tend to be egalitarian in nature. Household tasks and child rearing responsibilities are often shared between husband and wife. In single parent families, there is heavy reliance on the inter-household kinship system for provision of advice, support and financial help. There is a distinct pattern of taking care of one's own within the family unit. Historically, the Black family has relied on an informal adoption system to care for children who are in need of support and care for whatever reason.

Members have a strong work orientation in support of family ties. Occupational and educational aspirations are high and there is a strong orientation toward achievement. There is a strong commitment to religious values and participation in church activities among Black families.

CHILD REARING

Socialization of children in the Black family is a double challenge. Parents must teach the young ones how to be human, but also how to be Black in a white society. The requirements are not the same. Examples of the dilemmas include teaching self respect in the home when the larger society teaches self deprecation; urging persistence and patience in pursuit of laudable goals when the means of reaching those goals are often restricted if not denied altogether.

There is a high value placed on personal uniqueness and personal style. Each individual is encouraged to express his or her own uniqueness from an early age and is valued for the differences.

The child is viewed as a powerful self-willed entity, taking an active role from infancy in shaping her own environment. Rigid feeding schedules are often disregarded by care givers.

Babies are held, cuddled, kissed, talked to and played with--particularly within the context of the extended family. There is more involvement during the early stages with human beings than there is with objects such as toys. Young children are not often encouraged to explore the world of physical objects.

At about age three, the influence of the group of children within the family becomes important in child rearing. All the children in the household interact, with the older ones taking responsibility and exercising authority over the younger ones.

The first born in the family is often groomed for leadership roles regardless of sex. Family expectations differ for male and female during adolescence--the boys are allowed a great deal of personal freedom, while the girls are expected to study hard and participate in family support activities.

These practices contribute to children learning the skills that are necessary for the flexibility that will be required in assuming adult roles later on.

SOCIAL NORMS

Morality and social norms are greatly influenced by the church and community leaders as well as by dominant family members. There is also a constant influence in this area that stems from the way popular media

and culture view and portray Blacks. The young are particularly influenced in their quest for a place in society.

Those with handicapping conditions are accepted somewhat due to the cultural norm of valuing the individual more for what she is than for what she will become. Children with handicaps are often protected by the extended family which often closes ranks in support of the child and his parents. Strong religious values also influence families, who sometimes carry feelings of guilt stemming from the belief that the child's condition might be retribution for some wrongdoing that was committed by a family member. Religious values and church participation also, however, provide support and comfort as well as counsel and services for the family.

OTHER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The urban Black community relies on the traditional media for information. In addition, however, there is often a Black press publishing weekly or daily newspapers and magazines. Special radio and public television are also available in some urban areas.

There is a number of social groups and institutions within the community where people meet and interact. Notable are the NAACP and the Urban League. Those who have aspired to and attained higher education sometimes participate actively in social fraternities and sororities, many of which sponsor social and civic activities.

PRESENTER PANEL AND DISCUSSION:

A CULTURAL SYNTHESIS

Moderator Leonard Baca began the discussion by thanking the panel members for doing a difficult job so well. In a short period of time it is hard to share things that matter very deeply to you. Also, the task of representing fairly the wide diversity of people within a large cultural group was a real challenge. It is difficult to make broad generalizations. There will There will always be 101 exceptions.

To synthesize the wealth of information and feelings we received from the panelists, Leonard asked that we:

. look for commonalities across the cultures;

. ask panelists to clarify particular points or respond to concerns;

. consider how we might apply in our own life situations the things we have learned from the panelist.

Questions and answers (A) were received by participants and panelists. Comments, reactions, and additional information (C) were shared, too.

Question: According to the paper on the Samoan culture, a Samoan is not supposed to show enthusiasm. If you are enthusiastic about something but hide it, doesn't this affect the honesty in a relationship?

A: (Falealii) It is possible to have clear, honest relationships. The deep cultural values rather than the surface behaviors make these relationships possible.

Question: As you, the panelists, spoke, I found pieces of me in you. Could you tell a little more about how being handicapped is accepted by the Native American?

A: (Tafoya) The answer varies from tribe to tribe. For severely handicapped there is no norm. We don't have stories about them. They may have died, particularly when the Whiteman's diseases infested the tribes.

Currently we are sorting out for ourselves how to respond to the severely handicapped.

Complicating the matter is that state and federal laws which apply only to Native Americans (2000 laws in the state of Washington; 3000 federal laws) often create living situations which interfere with support systems the Native Americans would otherwise put together for themselves. For instance, the government has built housing that places our people in two- to three-bedroom houses, forcing us into smaller family units than the ones longhouses or pueblos could accommodate. Through government legislation Native Americans are brought to urban settings and in this way also cut off from their extended families and support systems. They are as immigrants in their own country.

Question: There is shame in running over cultures. Can we who are white diffuse the hate and be general helpers?

A: (Mullings-Franco) The Blacks are a people who have been systematically depressed. I personally do not feel hate, but I know that some Blacks do. Each of us has limitations with regard to the treatment we can take. Most important is that you be clear about who you are. Approach each individual as an individual. Be careful that you not take away from this meeting broad generalizations and begin to type people, forgetting that each individual is unique. Instead, remember that RACE stands for Respect, Awareness, Caring, and Equality.

A: (Tafoya) Native Americans believe that Anger, Jealousy, Greed, and Hate are the four sins. We are taught by our old people not to waste ourselves on these feelings. They are physical forces that will come back to you. It is a person with a twisted mind who gets angry.

We have learned that white people want to be loved or hated; they cannot deal with indifference. They can be difficult to love. We do not believe in getting angry. Therefore, we are often indifferent.

We have learned not to get too close to the white social workers, because they are people who do not stay.

We have learned that "yes" is a better response than "no." If we answer "no," they ask more questions.

However, the white service provider does have a major advantage over the Native American service provider. The whites have more flexibility in

what they can do as helpers because they can make stupid mistakes. However, the door would be closed on me, as a Native American, if I didn't deliver.

I recommend starting relationships with other cultures by openly saying, "I'm sorry that because I am white I will probably offend you. If I get into a sensitive area, please let me know."

A: (Participant) Know about the culture before you approach families. Find out additional information about the culture from the families themselves. Don't be a white who knows it all.

A: (Participant) Identify with the human issues that will cut through the feelings of skepticism. Be sensitive to the overlays, then translate these issues.

A: (Mullings-Franco) Realize that whites tend to see their own culture as complete and having integrity and assume that other cultures do no have these qualities. Instead, each culture should be viewed as good and one that works for the people within it.

A: (Yano) Whites are goal-oriented. As helpers, they want to know about you and establish rapport. They proceed on the principle that the squeaky wheel gets oiled. If you need help you should speak up and insist on service. However, many Asians believe that the nail which sticks out will get pounded down.

A: (Participant) Often whites come with missionary zeal. They evaluate and then judge behaviors as wrong because things are not done the way they do them. Taking the time required to understand is hard to do.

Question: What additional issues arise from interracial marriages?

A: (Tafoya) If there is a tabu against interracial marriage, do not wait until the child is born to begin counseling therapy. Guilt could have started earlier, and counseling should begin prenatally, too.

A: (Yano) Some may feel that the child was born handicapped because the marriage was interracial. As a result, attention is focused on the marriage when the energy is really needed for dealing with the handicap.

Question: Given that awareness is important, how do we go about learning the differences that make the difference? We don't want to barge in. How do we work person-to-person?

A: (Falealii) Are you asking what makes a Samoan tick? I still don't know myself. Just be yourself. Do the job.

Don't try to be a Samoan in white skin. These people are not accepted. Neither are whites in Samoan skin accepted.

Trying to understand the culture is made complicated, too, by the differing viewpoints of the young and the old. The young maintain the surface aspects of the culture rather than the deep.

A: (Tafoya) A lot depends on the first thirty seconds of a relationship. People can detect human respect. Allow people to share. They must teach us first before we can help.

It might be useful to know that, as anthropological studies tell us, there are two basic personalities: the indexical and the referential. The indexical personality (typical of European cultures) is different in each situation, e.g., the hit man who is a caring father. The referential personality stays the same no matter the context. The referential person feels that dexical people are not sincere. The indexical person feels the referential person is not flexible. These basic differences in personality may compound the challenge of knowing and understanding each other.

Question: Is there a pure culture? Should our approach be that we are working with members of traditional culture or people of a more westernized culture?

A: (Tafoya) Ask the person what their ethnicity is. If the person is Black-Indian and raised in an Indian culture, treating this person as Black will not work. Also, find out what the person's world views are. What are the religious views? What does the person feel caused the disability? How long does the person think it will last? How did it come about? This is important information to have. Without it you may be operating at cross methodologies. For instance, you may be thinking of a plan that provides maintenance, while the client may be thinking of cure.

Ask the elders as well as the parents. Cause? Duration? How did it come about? What do you think should be done? Their answers may vary from

those of the parents. Since they often assume child-rearing responsibilities, their answers will be very important to you, too.

Question: There appears to be a blending of cultures going on. How do we encourage this so that we take the best from each other?

A: (Baca) The desire to blend has brought us here. One way of encouraging the process is to expand the definition of culture. Use "culture" to talk about the many groups we identify with and move in and out of, e.g., age, sex, geographic region, socioeconomic level.

A: (Yano) Be professional. Know your job. And follow through. The genuine desire to help will be understood.

Question: Must one be bilingual or multilingual to bridge the cultures well?

A: (Yano) No, the service orientation is much more important than fluency in the language of the client. For instance, agencies that have hired former armed service personnel because they were bilingual have run into problems with the orientation they bring with them.

Question: In our parent-to-parent support program, should we try to match cultural background as well as type of handicap?

A: (Mullings-Franco) When possible, that is what the project I am on does. However, when it is not, we send out a team of two: one who has the professional skills and one with an understanding of the culture.

A: (Tafoya) Don't assume that the parent is the family member you need to reach. It may be the grandparents. For this reason, too, it is important to train grandparents. A grandparent may not listen to the twenty-year-old parent you have trained but would listen to another grandparent.

A: (Yano) Get to the community leaders. We spent one afternoon at church with Cambodian people, and our time together resulted in twelve referrals.

A: (Tafoya) Learning is seeing and remembering. Therefore, take a slide show with you when you are going out to explain your services. Use the show to depict exactly the things you will be doing.

C: (Tafoya) We have been talking at the adult level. We need to also see the child's view point. Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist, has interviewed children and produced a series of helpful books called Children in Crisis.

C: (Tafoya) Two further dimensions of personality that we need to recognize are locus of control and locus of responsibility. People who believe in an internal locus of control (IC) feel that they have the power to control many of the things that happen in their lives. Those with an external locus of control (EC) believe that luck, fate, or the will of God controls. Those with belief in internal responsibility (IR) feel they own skills that enable them to succeed and that if they fail it is their fault. Those with belief in external responsibility (ER) would be likely to give the credit to luck and the blame to government or the system.

Before we work with families, we need to know how they view the world. The IC/IR personality typically has high success in school and with the general American culture. They will seek help. The EC/ERs and EC/IRs are marginal personalities. They are very self-blaming. The EC/ERs do not know how to access the system. They are easy to work with. They will expect you to knock on their door and to be very directive.

IC/IRs work well with self-improvement plans. EC/ERs prefer that you be authoritarian rather than a nice guy. Therefore, with them use the I'm-going-to-teach-you approach; later you can switch to brainstorming and more open approaches.

With all types it is important to avoid false pretenses about what can be accomplished with your services. Ask, "How do you feel this should be done?"..."What specifically do you want changed?" If what they want is beyond your power, tell them so. Otherwise you risk alienating them and souring them on other service providers. Since memories are long and oral histories exist, a negative impact can be long-lasting.

Question: How do we empower parents?

A: (Tafoya) Allow parents time to synchronize with your time. For instance, the English speaker pauses one second for an answer, while the Athabaskan pauses one and one-half seconds.

A: (Yano) Tie into the immigrants' desire to fit in and to use the majority culture's system.

IN SUMMARY:
CROSS-CULTURAL IDEAS FOR REACHING OUT

By reviewing the above discussion, some important recommendations for approaching families of other cultures emerge:

- Be clear about who you are. Be yourself. Do the job.
- Approach each individual as an individual. Avoid using broad generalizations that type people, forgetting that each individual is unique.
- Know about the culture before you approach families. Find out additional information about the culture from the families themselves.
- Start relationships with other cultures by openly saying, "I'm sorry that because I am not from your culture I will probably offend you. If I get into a sensitive area, please let me know."
- Ask early on, "What is your ethnicity? Find out what the person's world views are. What are his/her religious views? Ask, "What do you feel caused the disability?" "How long do you think it will last?" "How did it come about?"
- View each culture as good and working.
- Be professional. Know your job. And follow through. The genuine desire to help will be understood.
- Avoid being the helper who doesn't stay.
- Remember that RACE stands for Respect, Awareness, Caring, and Equality.
- Think in terms of "cultural differences" rather than "cultural barriers." Recognize that, in general, folks do not wish to be totally assimilated into the dominant culture.
- Other recommendations that you found in or between the lines?

Appendix A

SUGGESTIONS FOR REPLICATING THE SYMPOSIUM

At first glance, our charge seemed impossible. The WestLink Network wanted a conference that would help them, as representative state special education administrators and parent leaders, to reach out and involve parents of minority cultures in their activities. The WestLink region includes the eight most western states and the Pacific territories--a highly diverse region culturally. The WestLink membership is composed of people who are good at what they do. They expected the conference to help them develop substantial know-how on ways to work with other cultures. We were given one day of conference time to accomplish this task.

But as with any major task if taken one bite at a time, what seems impossible becomes possible, and in this case, even very successful. We share below the things we did and found out along the way. We hope our account will assist you in your planning of a similar event, and we hope you will let us know about the additional discoveries you make in doing so.

Begin with a planning task force. We had a task force of nine, including three WRRC staff (Caroline Moore, Dick Zeller, Judy Grayson). Representation was by region and role (i.e., parents and administrators). Communication was by mail and teleconferencing. The task force clarified the goals of the conference, made suggestions for ways of meeting those goals, provided input on a draft agenda, and consulted with the program coordinators during the actual symposium in order to keep the program aligned with the membership's needs.

Establish principles that will guide the planning. As coordinators we discussed beliefs we held with regard to working with other cultures. We all felt strongly that:

- No culture is superior to another. Each culture has a bona fide set of beliefs and patterns for living. Each has a history of working for a group of people.

- "Culture" is a very sensitive topic. To talk of one's culture is to talk of one's deepest self. To scrutinize another person's culture is to scrutinize the person.

. The first step in reaching out to people of other cultures is to develop awareness of their values and ways, nonjudgmentally.

. There will be different types and degrees of involvement preferred by parents of a child with special needs. Such preferences should be respected.

Select a format. We chose a symposium format which would include the following components:

. remarks to set the stage;
. individual presentations by a panel of representatives from different cultures;
. a discussion among panelists and participants;
. planning in regional groups for ways to use the new information and understandings.

Set the stage. In order that participants have a frame of reference for absorbing the culturally different information, we did five things:

1. in the letter of invitation to participants, clarified the purpose of the symposium and the format that would be used;
2. restated the purpose of the symposium in the opening remarks at the meeting;
3. secured a presenter who could convey graphically the multi-cultural demographics of our region (see "Demography: Real Numbers--Real Change" by Dick Zeller);
4. secured a panel moderator who:
   . was an authority on multicultural issues related to the education of handicapped students;
   . was an effective speaker;
   . was committed to the purposes of the symposium
   . could give opening guidelines for getting the most from the panelists' presentations (see "Concepts: Is there a melting pot?" notes on Leonard Baca's presentation)
5. distributed sheets for note-taking that encouraged participants to listen for particular features of each culture (i.e., family structure, the place of the individual, child-rearing practices, social norms, and other social institutions) and also for implications for parent training/support. (See Section II, Cultural Differences and Parent Programs, for the list of topics and questions.)

Select panelists. First we determined how to group the vast number of cultures in our region in a way that would be manageable and meaningful. The task force settled on Asian, Hispanic, Pacific (Guam and Samoa), Native American (Southwest and Alaskan), and urban Black. Criteria for a panelist who would represent a group were:

- . of the culture being presented;
- . experienced in working with families of this culture who have handicapped children;
- . an effective speaker;
- . a positive, hopeful attitude about people of different cultures reaching out to understand, work, and live with each other.

We talked with people we already knew who met these criteria, and if they were not available asked for other recommendations. The list of presenters went together rather quickly. Presenters believed in what we were trying to do and wanted to help.

Give presenters specific guidelines. We asked ours to:

- . represent the large cultural grouping as best they could, rather than just their own specific culture (e.g., Asian, rather than Japanese);
- . prepare an oral presentation that addressed the purpose of our symposium and that at minimum touched on the six topical areas (see Section II, Cultural Differences and Parent Programs).
- . use audiovisual aids if desired;
- . prepare a brief paper covering the main points of their presentation;
- . keep to a 35-45 minute time limit;
- . participate in a panel discussion following the presentations that would assist the participants in identifying commonalities across cultures and would draw out implications for parent training/support;
- . contribute to the bibliography that would be made available at the meeting.

We assured each presenter that we knew, and would remind participants, that there would be many exceptions to the things they said, that not all people in a culture think and act the same, especially for groupings we arranged: they were more collections of cultures than single identifiable cultures. We also acknowledged that we were asking a huge favor by requesting that they limit their description of things which personally matter so much to just 35 to 45 minutes.

Conduct a panel discussion. If possible break up the time for presentations and that for the panel discussion with an evening, or at least a meal. We found that the individual presentations forced new ways of looking at things and the questioning of old. Such content needs time and informal discussion in order to fully register. To provide for that incubation time, we had a Mexican Fiesta for panelists and participants the evening following the presentations. This time together and the time alone before the next day's panel discussion may have contributed to the discussion's being particularly fruitful (see "Presenter Panel and Discussion: A Cultural Synthesis" in Section II).

Arrange for regional planning time. Following the panel discussion, the large group broke into small groups by the states and territories they represented. They then talked about ways they might use the understandings gained from the symposium for working with families of different cultural groups in their own regions. Each group was provided an action plan form to guide their discussion and planning.

Provide bibliography and set up display table. Appendix C of the Proceedings contains the bibliography we used. Single copies of many of the entries were displayed on a table; multiple copies were made available of some articles.

Evaluate the symposium. In order to do it better next time but not discard the aspects that were effective, we checked base with individual members of the task force at break times in the meetings, and we distributed an evaluation form to participants at the close of the meeting. The evaluation summary is in Appendix B.

Celebrate being part of a group that did indeed reach out and was moved by what we learned about each other and ourselves. We all benefited. And now our task is to use this knowlege and feeling to improve our work in parent training and support.

Appendix B

Evaluation Summary

This conference was the annual meeting of the WestLink parent network. The annual meetings are all designed to provide opportunities for representatives to (a) make contacts with parents in other states; (b) improve their own state's parent groups or organizations; and (c) gain information on issues of critical concern to parents. To achieve these objectives, this annual conference had two distinct parts: the business meeting, which focused on the continued development of the regional coalition and its support to states' parent organizations and activities, and the issues session, which focused on cultural contexts and strategies for reaching and assisting parents in the various "non-traditional" groups.

The issues session was developed by WRRC staff in response to a WestLink concern that more awareness and information were necessary to effectively reach out to more parents within the region, and to make the membership responsive to the divers needs represented within the member states. A "sampling" of cultures within the WRRC region was selected, and presenters from each responded to a set of questions designed to give participants both a glimpse of the cultural environments as well as a foundation for comparing differences in effective approaches.

To augment the culture-specific presentations, two papers--one on changing demography in the western region, the other on facts and fiction in the "melting pot" concept--were delivered. The individual cultures selected were seven predominant groups in the region: urban Black, Hispanic, Alaska Native American, Southwest Native American, Chamorro (Guam), Samoan, and Asian. The final session was a panel of the presenters responding to audience questions and providing recommendations for appropriate ways to reach and include parents from each of the represented groups.

PROCESS

Participants were requested to evaluate the extent to which the overall meeting objectives (above) were met, the effectiveness of WestLink in meeting needs and making changes in individual states, and the quality and

applicability of the cultural presentations. Information on anticipated use and recommendations for continued efforts was also solicited.

RESULTS

A low number of written responses was received. Of 50 participants, only 19 (38 percent) returned written evaluations.

Multicultural Sessions

Each session was evaluated on quality and applicability, on a scale of 1 (low) to 4 (high). The mean ratings of quality for all sessions ranged from 2.5 to 4.0. The SEA representatives ranked the sessions higher individually and overall than the parent representatives. However, the top three presentations were the same for both groups, in the same order: demographics, Southwest Native Americans, and Chamorro. The means for applicability fell between 2.25 and 4.0, and again the SEA ranks were higher than those of the parents. The SEAs rated more of the sessions (6) very applicable than did the parents (3). The panel discussion was ranked very high by both parents ($x=3.63$) and SEAs ($x=3.83$). Participants were also asked to indicate whether the sessions were more effective for raising awareness or for providing applicable strategies to take home. Parents indicated that one session, Southwest Native Americans, contained strategies they could use, while SEAs marked four (Blacks, Southwest Native Americans, Hispanics and Asians).

Participants were also asked to describe what they considered the most important lesson about working with other cultures. Responses from both SEAs and parents consistently referred to the importance of awareness and sensitivity: "honest communication and self-disclosure;" "recognize the common threads across cultures, and appreciate and respect the diversity;" "their needs and the needs of their children cannot be prejudged;" "to understand we will not be able to completely understand all aspects and relationships within the community;" "listen--don't assume."

The question on intended use of the information reinforced the stated value of the multicultural sessions. "Repeat in our state;" "share information with our bicultural training units;" "seek partnership opportunities with organizations and individuals representing other cultures to enhance outreach efforts;" "to work better with community

leaders and key parents in the multicultural community."

General

Participants indicated that their purposes in attending the WestLink meeting ("network;" "learn about other cultures;" "promote and expand parent involvement/partnership") were all met. The rank orders for importance of the three conference objectives differed between parent and SEA representatives: parents considered making contacts with parents in other states to be the most important feature of WestLink meetings, followed by gaining critical information and improving their state's parent groups/organizations. SEAs ranked gaining information in critical issues the most important, followed by making contacts with parents in other states.

Responses to the effect the network has had in individual states included, from parents, "improved parent/professional communication;" "food for thought and action;" "forces the parent and Department of Education representatives to be co-conspirators;" "has made a more complete hookup with other ways of working and teaching." SEA representatives regard WestLink as having promoted "improved parent involvement, planning and implementation;" "SEA responsiveness and development to support parent involvement;" "new direction and energy from interactions with parents from other areas."

Both parents and SEAs ranked WestLink effectiveness in meeting member needs quite high (xs=3.63 and 3.66, respectively). The primary recommendation for enhancing and expanding participation was to institute systematic networking among members between meetings. Teleconferences surfaced as the preferred method.

DISCUSSION

Based on the evaluations received, this conference was extremely successful. Remarks made in the course of the meeting and informal discussions throughout the conference reflected a high level of interest and excitement about attending and anticipating the prospects for future applications. Although the low return of written feedback is unusual when opportunity for immediate feedback is built into an activity, the verbal comments and subsequent events were sufficient to suggest that the evaluations were written by few but reflect the reactions of many.

Effects to Date

* Drafts of the multicultural papers were sent to all participants and through "word of mouth," 10 additional requests have been filled.

* A "miniversion" of the demographic session was delivered to the national parent/professional activity planning group in May. The multicultural papers were used to guide thinking and planning.

* The Washington State Special Education Advisory Council invited the WRRC to present the demography session to its members at their June meeting.

* A WestLink parent representative was invited to address a Washington State administrators' conference in August for which she used the demography session materials and her own participation in the WestLink conference.

Multi-Cultural Resources

WestLink Conference
May 2-3, 1986

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